

GAZETTE DES BEAUX-ARTS

JANUARY 1948



C O N T E N T S

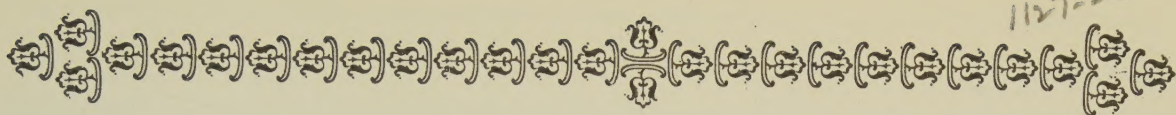
THE PAINTINGS OF THE NAVE IN ST. GEORGE'S CHURCH OF OBERZELL, REICHENAU, BY COLETTE LAMY-LASSALLE. ¶ THE ACADEMICIAN AND THE BOHEMIAN, ZUCCARI AND CARAVAGGIO, BY WALTER FRIEDLAENDER. ¶ EARLY AMERICAN PREFABRICATION, BY CHARLES E. PETERSON. ¶ THE LITERARY WORLD OF ALBERT PINKHAM RYDER, BY RICHARD BRADDOCK. ¶ A LANDSCAPE BY KERSTIAEN DE KEUNINCK AT THE MUSEUM OF BASEL, BY SUZANNE SULZBERGER. ¶ REVIEW OF REVIEWS.

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THE PAINTINGS OF THE NAVE IN ST. GEORGE'S CHURCH OF OBERZELL, REICHENAU



FIG. 1A. — Church of St. George of Oberzell, Reichenau. — Exterior, present state, as seen from the lake.

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2. Church located on the island of Reichenau, on the lake of Constanz (Bodensee), "consecrated . . . to receive the head of St. George brought from Rome for that purpose" (*Ibid.*).

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2. Church located on the island of Reichenau, on the lake of Constanx (Bodensee), "consecrated . . . to receive the head of St. George brought from Rome for that purpose" (*Ibid.*).

We will recall in broad outline the history of the foundation of the Monastery of Reichenau. Pirmin,³ one of the many Irish monks who came to evangelize the Germanic countries, was one of the first to penetrate the island of Divae Augia where he was met by wild animals. According to the existing legend, they all came forward to greet him. He then decided to found on the island a monastery under the rule of St. Benedict. This was the Monastery of Reichenau — the location of a *Scriptorium* which was famous around the X Century. It comprised an important series of buildings of which nothing remains today but three churches. The one we are studying and which is located in the eastern part of the island, was consecrated in 888 by the Archbishop of Mainz Hatto III, but nothing remains of that period, and hardly a vestige of the period prior to the X Century can be found.⁴

The church that has been preserved is a small basilica with aisles and a double apse in the Germanic style (Fig. 1A). It is 40 meters long and 19 meters wide; there is a very low square tower above the crossing of the old transept, the cross-bars having been brought to the same level as the aisles. The ensemble formed by the porch and the eastern apse is of an interesting effect.⁵

Judging from the dimensions of the church, we can see that it is rather short in relation to its width. The general impression is that of a rather heavy and squat edifice of solid and handsome massiveness, indicating that the architect made no effort toward elegance or lightness.

The central nave is separated from the aisles by round columns which support regular semi-circular arcades, with no imposts or arches, through the intermediary of capitals the basket of which is hollow and the astragal of which is thickly padded.

Five high windows on each side form the only architectural decoration of the walls. In the background a large triumphal arch without imposts recalls the early Roman basilicas. The church is not vaulted; under its choir there is a crypt with three naves which may date from before the X Century. From top to bottom the church is entirely painted. We know from texts that this was a very common practice in the Carolingian and Othonian period but most of the ancient frescoes having disappeared, our eye is not accustomed to such polychromic effects in religious buildings.

Having been architecturally conceived with this decorative painting in mind, the Church of Oberzell shows a particularly bare structure, and one wonders what the appearance of this church would be like if it had not been covered with murals.

3. Pirmin, Apostle of Bavaria, probably born in Ireland about 660, died at Hornbach (Bavarian Palatinate) about 753.

4. We wish to mention here the names of some of the Bishops who played an important part in the widespread influence of the Monastery. They were: Pirmin, about 727; Egino, about 800; Walafriad Strabo, who was abbot of Reichenau from 842 to 849; and Witigowo, from 985 to 997.

5. See our above-mentioned article.



FIG. 1B. — St. George Church of Oberzell, view of the interior.

There are no lofts, no gallery, no imposts, no decorated capitals, nor any sculptured decoration which would attract the eye, and evidently no sculptor has ever entered this church, which was left entirely in the hands of painters.

What explains such sobriety in the decoration? This convent of Reichenau was rich and this is not a small village church like that of Goldbach, for instance.⁶ Perhaps the original idea was merely to build an oratory for the exclusive use of the first abbot of the monastery.

The dating of the church is supported by texts which place its building not in the era of Hatto III (to whom we owe its foundation) but in that of Abbot Witigowo.

A man of wide erudition, a great builder, this Abbot is responsible for many works which have been described by Purchard⁷ and which are of the greatest in-

6. Goldbach Überlingen: F. X. KRAUS, *Die Wandgemälde der St. Sylvester Kapelle zu Goldbach am Bodensee*, Munich, 1902.

7. *Carmen de Gestis Witigowis*, Mon. Germ. 55.621.

terest to our studies. The nave and the choir would date of the X Century, but the wall paintings are not mentioned.

* * *



FIG. 2A. — Raising of Lazarus, tracing. — St. George Church of Oberzell.

We shall willingly adopt the ancient thesis of Kraus⁸ and the more recent one of M. Hecht,⁹ both of whom consider that the paintings post-dated the building of the nave by very little, and that they were completed before the beginning of the XI Century. This opinion is confirmed by the style of the paintings, and as we know that the technique used in that work required that they be made rather quickly, we believe that the paintings could even have been finished by the year 1000.

As we have already seen, the church was originally entirely covered with paintings, but today only the eight scenes of the *Miracles of Christ* and their framings have been preserved from the original decoration. The medallions in the spandrels of the arcades representing the Abbots of Reichenau have been restored, most likely according to the original

8. F. X. KRAUS, *Die Wandgemälde der St. Georges Kirche zu Oberzell auf der Reichenau*, Freiburg, 1884.

9. JOSEF HECHT, as will be stated in his forthcoming book on Romanesque painting.



FIG. 2B. — Raising of Lazarus, mural. — St. George Church of Oberzell.

models. This is also true of the *Apostles* to be found between the high windows. As to the *Last Judgment* which decorates the interior of the eastern apse, it is a work of the XVII Century, very much deteriorated.

The Gospel scenes are still in a rather good state and are of particular interest because of not having been restored; certain parts are effaced but not enough for us to be unable to gather the essential elements of the theme.

Distributed four on each side of the wall the scenes representing the *Miracles of Christ* are as follows: in the southern part, the *Raising of Lazarus*, that of the *Daughter of Jairus* and of the *Widow's Son*, and the *Healing of the Leper*; in the northern part, the *Healing of the Demoniac of Gerasa* and the *Healing of the Dropsical Man*, the *Stilling Storm on the Lake of Gennesaret*, and the *Healing of the Man Born Blind*.

The New Testament alone is represented by a series of *Miracles of Christ* (numerous healings and raisings which are responsible for the glory of the Saviour)¹⁰ in the same way as on the manuscripts of the School of Reichenau where the Old Testament does not appear and where the emphasis is chiefly on the earthly activ-

10. As is true of the Gospels, no definite order seems to have presided over the sequence of the scenes.

ities of Christ. The scenes are enclosed in rectangular frames formed by continuous horizontal and vertical bands which are part of the decorative motifs of the nave.

This practice of framing scenes which thus constitute a series of independent pictures, corresponds to a very ancient custom. This disposition can be found as early as in the Christian Catacombs of Rome like those of Sts. John and Paul in the IV Century as well as later at St. Clement's in Rome. In manuscripts, and particularly in those of the School of Reichenau, all kinds of motifs are found in these framings, from the simple line to the most elaborate fret or leaf scroll.

The study of the framing motifs in Oberzell is a most delicate one because their execution has been scattered over several phases and because they have been



FIG. 3. — IV Century. — Healing of the Blind and Raising of Lazarus, ivory relief from the Lipsanotek of Brescia. — Museo Cristiano, Brescia.

subjected to restorations. However, their graphic style is varied and may even help in the dating of the work. Considering the friezes more closely, we will see that the large band of the lower framing of the scenes which is one meter high, is decorated with a fretwork of a beautiful brownish red. Viewed in perspective or, to use a more modern ex-

pression, in *trompe l'oeil*, one discovers in the friezes groups of seven minute white spots forming flowerets. The fret became very common in the Romanesque painting of the XII Century although it had appeared in earlier periods; we find it at Ravenna at the Mausoleum of Galla Placidia and St. Apollinare Nuovo, where it frames the nave in exactly the same way as in Oberzell, and also in Rome in the Church Sta. Maria in Pallaria. But there its style is flat and does not have the effect of a sculptured relief as in Oberzell. In Ravenna and Rome the design was simply that of one continuous line of fretwork, while in Oberzell it is formed by lines completely independent one from the other, and the circumvolutions of which sometimes superpose one another. Directly underneath the windows another frieze forms the upper framing of the scenes; it is half as wide as the former one and has only one fret. The meanderings of the one placed under the old ceiling are of the same style.¹¹

11. On the study of the perspective of frets, see the beautiful page by HENRI FOCILLON, in: *The Life of Forms in Art* (French ed.: *Vie des Formes*, Paris, 1934, p. 39).



FIG. 4A. — Raising of the Daughter of Jairus, mural. — St. George Church of Oberzell.



FIG. 4B. — Raising of the Daughter of Jairus, tracing. — St. George Church of Oberzell.

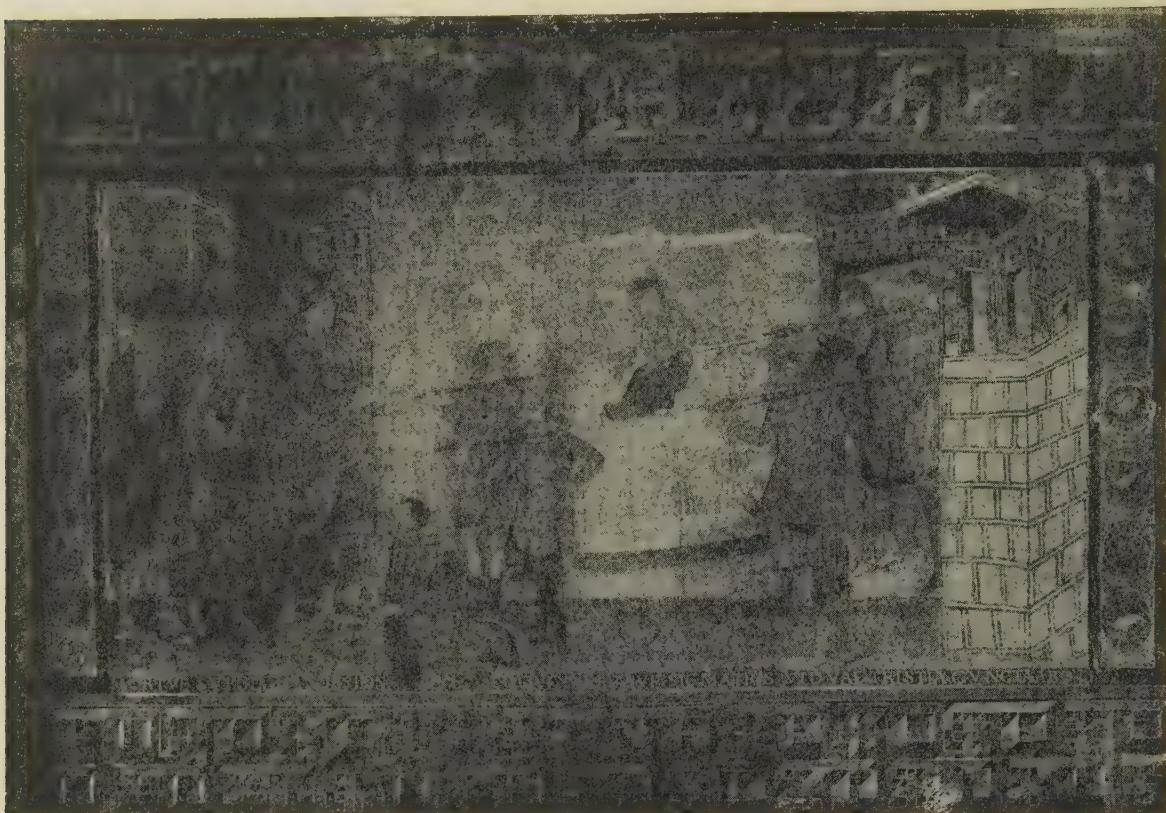


FIG. 5. — Raising of the Widow's Son, mural. — St. George Church of Oberzell.

Along the vertical line, and in contrast with the horizontal bands, we find vertical friezes which add rhythm to the scenes and scan them at regular intervals. Decorated with vine branches, leaf scrolls, birds or small roses, they are certainly of a later date than the horizontal friezes and belong perhaps to the period in which the texts under the scenes were rewritten. A paleographical examination of these texts permits to date them of the XIII or XIV Century. It is possible that they were part of a single phase of work. The work of a painter at such great height was not an easy task and it is therefore understood that the paintings were not submitted to many restorations.

Conceived on a very large scale, the figures are about two meters high but there is no proportion whatever between them and the architecture.

The first scene on the southern side is the *Raising of Lazarus* (Fig. 2B) of which we also reproduce a tracing (Fig. 2A). Striking in his whiteness, Lazarus appears like an Egyptian mummy standing under his mausoleum, thus marking the center of the scene. Behind him his relatives and friends show by their gestures that they are disturbed by the smell which comes from the revived corpse. At the left, Christ appears turned three-quarters to the right, His right hand stretched



FIG. 6. — The Healing of the Leper, mural. — St. George Church of Oberzell.

out toward the beneficiary of the miracle; the only figure surmounted by a cruciform halo, and wearing a tunic and pallium, He will be recognizable by the same type of representation throughout all the *Miracles*, scene after scene, with almost tiresome uniformity. On the contrary, the figures surrounding Christ show astonishing realism and freshness. One should especially note the way in which the artist has painted Martha and Mary whose gestures are full of grace and naturalness. The draped portico before which the Saviour appears is also repeatedly represented on these walls. It is a type of portal that is found in manuscripts of the school of the same monastery as well as on the Poussay *Evangile*.¹²

The predominant colors are tones of brown and red; the tunic of Christ is green and His pallium is brown. The color scheme is generally soft and blurred, and it is interesting to note that blue very rarely appears.

Far from being an invention of our artist, the iconographic composition of the *Raising of Lazarus* as seen at Reichenau is very old and has been similarly treated innumerable times in the Catacombs, on sarcophagi, and on Paleo-Christian ivories (Fig. 3). True, there is in it a deviation from the following passage

¹². *Evangelistaire de l'Abbaye de Poussay à Paris*, Bibliothèque Nationale (B. N. Lat. 10.514).

of the text of John (XI, 38): "It was a cave, and a stone lay upon it." But, beginning with the II Century the cave has occasionally (Cemetery of Priscilla) been replaced by a *heroon* (temple erected by relatives for a member of the family worshipped as a hero). The *heroon* will eventually have an impressive portico of the kind usually seen on the Roman imperial roads. Under that portico, often preceded by several steps, one invariably finds the swathed and standing figure of Lazarus. Christ at his side touches the man of Bethany with the tip of his rod.¹³

The *Raising of the Daughter of Jairus* (Figs. 4A and 4B), although described in three Gospels, has been much less frequently represented and does not have the same popularity as the preceding scene. Perhaps the Ancients considered that the raising of the brother of Martha and Mary was more striking and sufficient to recall the power of Christ over life and death. These are two events which appear consecutively in the Holy Writ and which the artist has represented within the same framing. At the left, the woman stricken with the loss of blood since the age of twelve tries to touch the mantle of Christ. The Saviour (it is the only time in this entire decoration that the style differs from other representations) here is shown walking with a light step — almost a dancing step — of a remarkable amplitude. He seems to be deeply moved as He approaches the bleeding woman, who hardly dares to stretch out her hands toward Him Who will be her Saviour. She is represented here standing, while in all the earlier works, as at the Church of St. Apollinare Nuovo at Ravenna, we find her crouching.

Nearby we find the scene proper of the *Raising of the Daughter of Jairus*. It is like a little jointed doll who gets up when Christ says to her: "*Talitha Koum*" (Maid, arise). This episode is not found in the Catacombs but appears about the IV Century on sarcophagi and ivories. On the Brescia Casket it is a woman of a certain age, a true Roman matron who revives before a Christ Who could be her son; the ages of the figures are, so to speak, reversed. The legs form a graphic composition of a remarkable diversity. They attain such highly decorative intensity that they occupy a place as important as that of the heads of the actors of the scene.

In the scene of the *Raising of the Widow's Son* (Fig. 5), Christ meets a widow who has just lost her son. According to the description by Luke (VII, 15), Christ is represented touching the bier, which makes the dead sit up and speak. This scene does not appear in the Catacombs but it does on Christian sarcophagi. Well known in Byzantine art, it also appears on the Salerno Plaque.¹⁴ The architectural motif on the right probably represents the walls of the city of Naim. The masonry work of white stones is conceived in a very decorative but not very realistic man-

13. The same scene is found at the Oratory of John VII, in Rome, in the VIII Century and later at St. Urbano de la Caffarella (See: G. MILLET, *Recherches sur l'Iconographie de l'Evangile aux XIV, XV et XVI Siècles*, Paris, 1916.)

14. See: WILPERT, *Die römischen Mosaiken und Malereien der kirchlichen Bauten vom IV bis XIII Jahrhundert*, Freiburg, 1917, vol. II, p. 800.

ner. One admires particularly the gesture of the widow, supplicating and at the same time full of dignity.

The scene of the *Healing of the Leper* (Fig. 6) is quite effaced.

It is with difficulty that one still distinguishes the figure of Christ to the left under a portico identical with those we have seen in the preceding scenes. With His hand outstretched He touches the head of the sick man whom He will heal. The latter appears sharply on the blurred background where browns and reds are



FIG. 7. — The Healing of the Demoniac from Gerasa, mural. — St. George Church of Oberzell.

mixed. He looks as if he were still out of breath arriving after his race with the horn indicating his malady slung over his shoulder. However, nothing in the texts incited the artist to thus represent the leper as the winner of an Olympic race.

To the right, but within the same framing, the scene changes. The healed leper advances with dignity wearing the tunic and pallium, and holding in his hand the gift which, according to the law of Moses, he intends for the High Priest. The figure of the Priest, seated on his throne, his knees crossed like those of the Evangelists in the Carolingian manuscripts, is not without grandeur.

In the Catacombs — for instance, those of Peter and Marcellin — the paintings



FIG. 8A. — The Healing of the Dropsical Man, mural. — St. George Church of Oberzell



FIG. 8B. — The Healing of the Dropsical Man, tracing. — St. George Church of Oberzell.

of which date as early as the III Century, there is a Christ of large dimensions with His hand on the head of a young child. Even though that scene has sometimes been taken for the *Healing of the Man Born Blind*, it evidently represents the *Healing of the Leper*, since the Holy Writ states that Christ touched not the head but the eyes of the blind. It is therefore from the time of the Catacombs that the first images of that miracle, which will be very frequently found in Germanic



FIG. 9. — The Healing of the Gouty, fresco. — St. Saba Church, Rome.

art, would date. This composition should not be confused with the *Healing of the Ten Lepers*, described in another Gospel.

On the northern side, the first scene represents the *Healing of the Demoniac from Gerasa* (Fig. 7). The sick man advances toward Christ, simultaneously turning himself to the right to see what the demons, which are coming out of his mouth, will do. This close study in twisted anatomy shows learning and skill, but this is not to the credit of our artist since an identical treatment of a *Demoniac* can be found in contemporaneous manuscripts. At St. Apollinare Nuovo, the *De-*

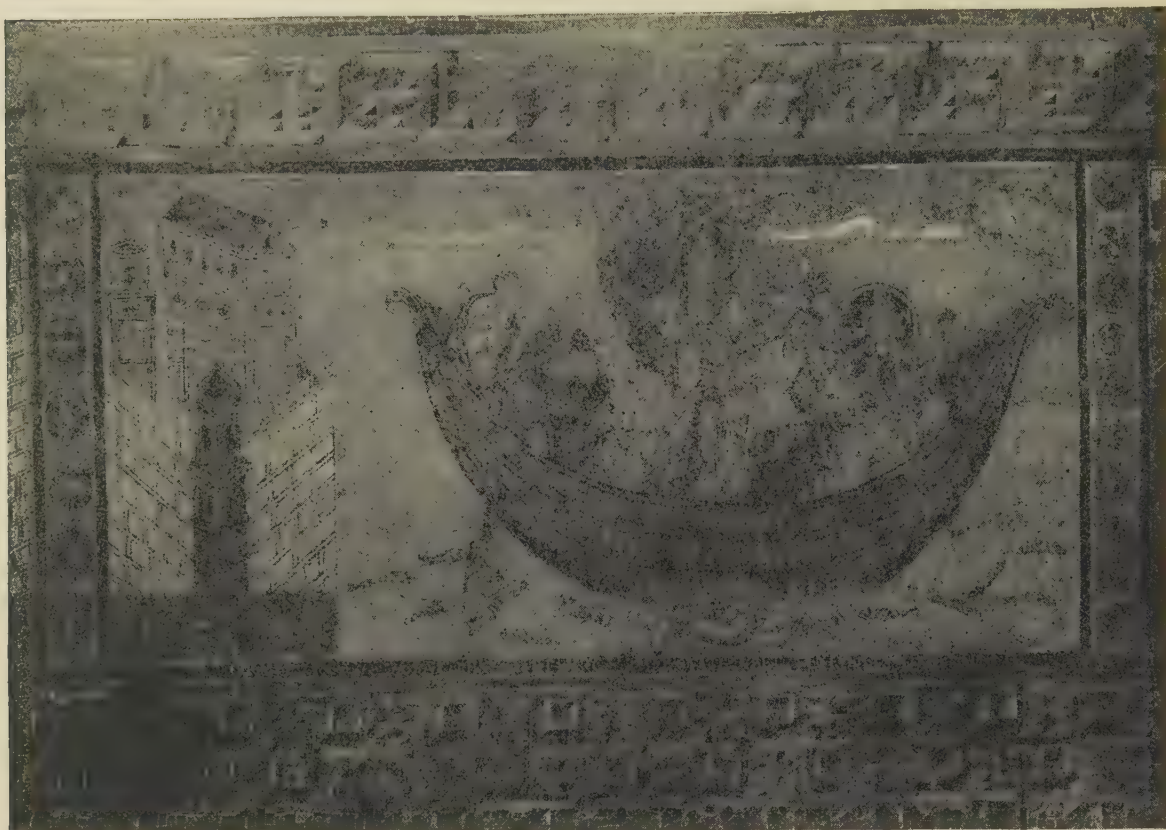


FIG. 10. — Stilling Storm on the Lake of Gennesaret, mural. — St. George Church of Oberzell.

moniac is on his knees before Christ with his eyes turned humbly to the ground. The same episode was used in the decoration of the Cemetery of Hermes. A small architectural agglomeration, more like a group of doll houses, is represented above that scene. It must be the city of Gerasa, the very close proximity of which the artist wanted to suggest.¹⁵

In the very center of the next picture — placed in the same way as the figure of Lazarus in the scene of his raising (Figs. 2A and 2B) — there appears the *Dropsical Man* (Figs. 8A and 8B): "And He took him, and healed him and let him go." Is not this text of Luke (XIV, 4) deeply moving by its brevity and laconicism? The sick man, at the ultimate stage of his exhaustion, whose bare protruding stomach makes us shiver, supported by his friends, advances with confidence toward the Saviour in Whom he believes. At the left there is the same Christ making the same gesture under the same portico. The scene takes place in broad daylight; a dense crowd indicates that this must be a public plaza, for all should learn what has come to pass. The friends of the sick man are dressed in large robes,

15. A scene of frequent recurrence in Byzantine art, it is treated there, however, quite differently, without either the lake or the hogs, nor the city and its inhabitants (cf. MILLET, *Op. cit.*, p. 600).

so long that one can hardly see their feet and decorated with a collarette with flaps according to the fashion of the time. This is one of the characteristic features of the definite realism of that work. However, against every natural rule of graphic art, the door on the right, which is perhaps that of the sick man's house, appears directly under the roofs of the town in a most unrealistic way.¹⁶



FIG. 11. — Christ Walking on the Water, illumination. — St. Angelo in Formis, Italy.

The *Stilling Storm on the Lake of Gennesaret* in Galilee (Fig. 10) is probably the best known of the Gospel episodes painted at Reichenau. Perhaps it was the boat—an essentially decorative element—which made the scene popular. There are two figures of Christ in that boat; that is because two consecutive episodes are represented as if they were simultaneous. On the left, Christ has fallen asleep in spite of the storm, gently leaning on one of His devoted Apostles, and there is much naturalness in the unconventionality of that pose. To the right in the

same boat, awakened by His frightened disciples, Christ asks them (Matthew VIII, 26): "Why are ye fearful, O ye of little faith?" And He cautiously stretches His hand in the direction of the little demons who are bid-



FIG. 12. — Stilling Storm on the Lake of Gennesaret, mural. — Codex Egberti.

16. See a figure of Christ curing a gouty (Fig. 9) from the St. Saba Church, VII Century, in: WILPERT, *Die Römischen Mosaiken und Malereien der kirchlichen Bauten von IV bis XII Jahrhundert*, Freiburg, 1917, vol. IV, pl. 188. The analogy between that scene and the above composition is striking.

ding the wind to blow furiously.¹⁷

The sail is swollen with wind, the fish are moving around the boat; the artists who painted this scene must have been fishermen to have known the aquatic fauna of the Bodensee so well. It is impossible to distinguish between sky, sea and city but there is, nevertheless, in that scene a sense of verity which one cannot help admiring deeply. It is an episode unknown in the Catacombs, but frequently represented in the Othonian period.

Thus we reach the last page of our mural Gospel; this is the *Healing of the Man Born Blind* (Fig. 15) which represents the conclusion of the cycle. With an intensely dynamic gesture, the poor invalid advances bending toward Christ Who will apply to his eyes the mud which He has just prepared with His saliva. Probably unknown in the Catacombs, this scene appears on the beautiful ivory of the IV Century, known as the Casket of Brescia (Fig. 3). On the ivory and at Oberzell one finds the same gestures of Christ and of the beneficiaries of the miracle. How can one remain unimpressed by the persistence of these forms found six centuries apart, both in sculptured and painted work?¹⁸

After having examined these eight scenes we see that they show very few new elements as far as either composition or iconographic arrangement are concerned.

How could the artists of Reichenau have known the former works with which, thanks to the present state of our science, we can see that their creations were related? Perhaps it is through the *Scriptorium* of the monastery which in the Othon-



FIG. 13. — The Healing of the Demoniac from Gerasa, illumination. — *Codex Egberti*.

17. At St. Saba on the Aventine, there are remnants of a scene representing the *Stilling Storm on the Lake of Gennesaret*. See: WILPERT, *Op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 200.

18. The scene also appears at the Oratory of John VII and at Sta. Maria Antiqua, in Rome: WILPERT, *Ibid.*

ian period was a very important workshop, that we shall find the right explanation.

We shall see below how close the points of contact were between this mural iconography and the graphic representation of the same episodes on the manuscripts of the School of Reichenau.

Since the Carolingian period monks have worked in that monastery at which emperors used to stop on their way to Rome. Thus, the monks were brought into contact with important people of the time. It is quite possible that they were thus entrusted with ancient manuscripts, ivory plaques, or other objects of art which may have inspired them in their work upon the illumination of manuscripts. Eventually the painters would have transferred the scenes in a more or less literal way from the manuscripts to the walls. This thesis cannot, however, be accepted with full certainty. Indeed, while in the Othonian period we find a close relation between the works painted on walls and those painted on parchments, this is not the case in the Carolingian period when the decoration of manuscripts often was, in evolution, considerably behind that of the churches. This can be presumed on the basis of texts.¹⁹ In this case we should, on the contrary, ask ourselves whether it was not from the fresco decorations on the walls that the miniaturists drew their inspiration.

Thanks to commissions made by high church dignitaries, we owe to the monks of the *Scriptorium* of Reichenau such works as the *Psalter* of Egbert,²⁰ Archbishop of Treves, and his *Evangeliaire*,²¹ which is considered as the masterpiece of the Othonian Renaissance. Kerald and Heribert, the two artists responsible for the latter, decorated it with fifty-one illuminations of the highest interest. This work has been dated about 975. Certain of its scenes may be directly related to the painting of Oberzell of which we believe that it is almost contemporaneous (Fig. 17).

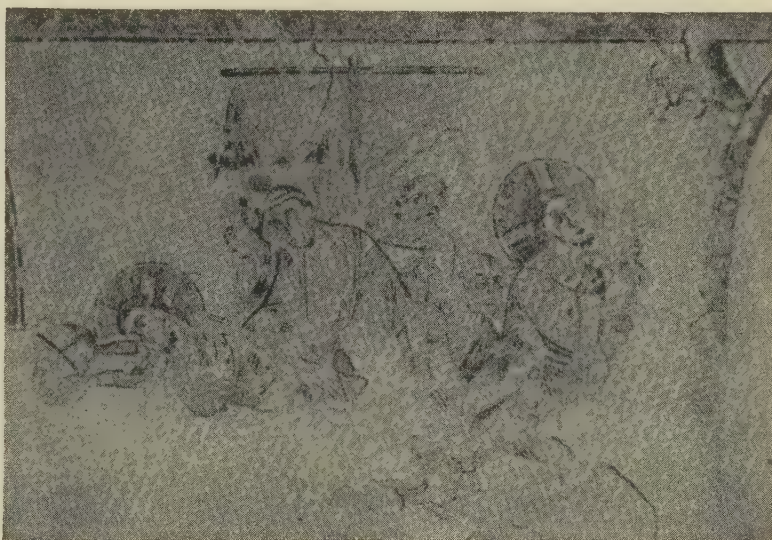


FIG. 14. — Stilling Storm on the Lake of Gennesaret, mural. — Goldbach Church of Ueberlingen (after KUNSTLE).

19. WALAFRIED STRABO, *Versus de Evangelio ad Picturam*; P. L. MIGNE, CXIV — 916; ERMOLDUS NIGELLIUS, *De laude Hludowici*, IV, about 179-246 (Description of the paintings in the Palace of Ingelheim).

20. *Codex Gertrudianus*, Cividale, about 977.

21. *Egberti Codex*, Library of Treves, No. 24; F. X. KRAUS, *Die Miniaturen des Codex Egberti in der Stadtbibliothek zu Trier*, Freiburg, 1882.

There are very striking resemblances of style and conception between the scenes of the *Stilling Storm on the Lake of Gennesaret* (Fig. 11). Both at Treves and in Reichenau, Christ is seen in the boat twice, asleep and awake; in the upper right the evil spirits are blowing in order to whip up the storm. The scene with the *Demoniac* in the *Egberti Codex* (Fig. 13) is also related to that of Oberzell in the style of painting as well as in the distribution of the figures and of the demons who appear sitting astride hogs. This observation was made by Kraus who was the first to draw this parallel when he published the *Codex*.²² Haseloff²³ insists, as did Kraus, on the antique character of this manuscript, which he believes was made under the inspiration of the Virgil edition in the Vatican and the *Itala* of Quedlimbourg. There is nothing, indeed, in that manuscript which would make one think of Carolingian works, and in the painting of Reichenau we feel that we are very close to the early Christian art in which the influences of Antiquity are still so strong. This is sensed in the tranquil beauty of the figures, in the way that the draperies of their costumes are treated, and in the manner in which the figures are grouped. The colors, none of which are harsh, form a soft harmony far removed from the works of the Carolingian period.

But the *Egberti Codex* is not the only manuscript of Reichenau which makes us think of our murals. We find the figure of Christ treated in the same way as in various Books of Gospels, on the *Cimelie* 58²⁴ and on the manuscript of Othon II at Aix-la-Chapelle.²⁵ On the Echternach of the Escorial²⁶ one finds the scene of Naim similar to that in Oberzell. The *Book of Prayer* of the Abbey of St. Maximin of Treves also belongs to the same type.²⁷ But this is a group of works at the end of the X Century, all drawing their inspiration from Antiquity. On the contrary, all prior works belonging to the Carolingian period have nothing in common with our murals. They show scenes with harsh outlines, and rather heavy figures whose gauche gestures do not have the refinement of the later works.

The artists of the region under discussion have decorated other walls besides those in Reichenau. At St. Gall, at Goldbach, at Petershausen or at Burgfelden, the region of the Bodensee has produced a decoration conceived in the same spirit, which constitutes a real renaissance of Christian primitive art (Fig. 18). Unfortunately, it is only thanks to texts that we can cite them. With the exception of the murals in Goldbach, the state of deterioration of which is quite advanced, there are no longer in this region of Germany any other religious buildings of that period in which we could examine frescoes representing the Miracles of Christ.

22. *Ibid.*

23. ARTHUR HASELOFF, *Peintures, Miniatures dans les Pays du Nord*; ANDRÉ MICHEL, *Histoire de l'Art*, vol. I, part II, p. 717.

24. Book of Gospels of the Dome of Bamberg, end of the X Century, at the Library of Munich, *Cod. Lat.*, 44-53.

25. Treasure of Aachen, about 980.

26. *Codex Aureus*, Escorial, 1046.

27. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, *Lat.* 18.005.



FIG. 15. — The Healing of the Man Born Blind, mural. — St. George Church of Oberzell.

At Goldbach, a village of seventy-five inhabitants, the Sylvester Kapelle is a poor and very small church on the shores of the Bodensee quite close to Überlingen. One can still see the decoration of the lower parts of the nave where there are figures of the *Apostles* of rather large dimensions. A work very Germanic in style, we studied it in our first article relating it to the Oberzell *Last Judgment*. Above these *Apostles*, under a frieze, there are traces of painting where remnants of several layers from different periods of time can be seen. Moreover, if one con-



FIG. 16. — The Healing of the Man Born Blind, Tracing.
— *Codex Egberti*.

siders the superstructure of the chapel together with the fact that the windows have been cut in the walls, one will realize that one is here quite far removed from the beautiful nave of Reichenau still representing the purest Othonian style. The upper part of the nave of Goldbach was decorated with scenes of the *Miracles of Christ*. In his book dated 1902, Kraus does not mention the lower part.²⁸ It was Kunstle who was the first to make drawings and even watercolors of what he saw there, and even of what he thought he saw.²⁹ The style of the Goldbach paintings presents such a resemblance to that of the Reichenau murals, that Kunstle thought that the same artist had presided over the execution of both decorations.

He also thought that the Church of Reichenau was of earlier date than that of Goldbach.³⁰ The winding friezes of Goldbach are almost as if they had been traced from those of Reichenau, and we find at Goldbach even the little group of white spots which we mentioned before.

On the northern wall of the Goldbach Church the first scene is not identifiable, while the second one must have represented the *Healing of the Dropsical Man*, and may also be related to the same scene at Oberzell. As to the *Stilling Storm on the Lake of Gennesaret* (Fig. 14), it will be interesting to compare in this respect the paintings of Goldbach and Oberzell with those of the *Codex*, as well as of the *Evangélistes* of Aix-la-Chapelle. If on the *Codex* the sail is missing and the figures are less numerous, there is nevertheless almost complete identity between Goldbach and Oberzell. In addition to the resemblance in form, one may notice in both works the preoccupied expression of the disciples who seem very anxious to see their Master awaken and save them from an imminent wreck.

As to the scenes of the *Healing of the Leper* and of the *Widow's Son*, they are both to be found in the southern part of the two churches.

This corresponds to a very old eastern custom and men like Chorikios³¹ and St. John Damascene have described churches on the walls of which were represented scenes of the *Miracles of Christ*. Some of these are the same as the ones which we find in Germany at the Othonian period, for example at Gaza, in the nave of which was represented the *Widow's Son*, or the *Healing of the Woman with Issue*. As to the western world, we learn from Prudence of similar scenes and we find them again placed in the same way at St. Apollinare Nuovo. An ancient drawing shows that at the Oratory of John VII in Rome³² there was a *Raising of Lazarus*, as well as a *Healing of the Demoniac* and a *Healing of the Man Born*

28. The frescoes of the upper part of the nave were discovered only in 1904.

29. KÜNSTLE, *Die Kunst des Klosters Reichenau im IX und X Jahrhundert und der neu entdeckte Karolingische Gemälde Zyklus zu Goldbach bei Überlingen*, Freiburg in Breisgau, 1906.

30. KÜNSTLE, in: *Ibid.*, dates the *Miracles of Christ* at Goldbach of the beginning of the XI Century.

31. "In the Naos, the walls will be covered on either side by scenes from the Old and New Testaments," CHORICCI GAZAI, *Orationes, Declamationes, Fragmenta*, BOISSONNADE, pp. 91-98.

32. VAN BERCHEM ET CLOUZOT, *Mosaïques Chrétiennes du IV au X Siècle*, Paris, 1924, p. 209.

Blind. For the Carolingian period, we are informed by texts that at Ingelheim³³ scenes from the Old Testament decorated the southern wall while the northern one was decorated with scenes from the New Testament. At St. Gall the *Carmina San Gallensia*³⁴ texts mention twenty-three scenes of the Life of Christ, among which are the *Healing of the Ten Lepers* and the *Raising of the Widow's Son*.³⁵

At Burgfelden (Fig. 17), where the *Last Judgment* alone still exists, Gospel scenes were represented on the southern and northern walls. Among them was the scene of *Lazarus and the Rich Man*, and that of the *Good Samaritan*.

At Petershausen, dated 983, paintings from the Old Testament decorated the northern part of the church, while scenes from the New Testament decorated the southern part. In the choir were represented figures of the *Virgin* and the *Apostles*.

The number of episodes represented seems to be continually increasing as time goes on, and we thus find in southern Italy, at St. Angelo in Formis, in the XI Century, the nave decorated with sixty scenes borrowed from the New Testament (Fig. 11). In French mural painting one rarely finds Romanesque fresco painters giving so literal an illustration of the Holy Writ describing the Life of Christ. One



FIG. 17. — St. Michael's Church, Burgfelden.

33. See footnote 19.

34. *Carmina Sangallensia*, JULIUS SCHLOSSER, *Schriftquellen zur Geschichte der Karolingischen Kunst*, 1892, p. 328, No. 93. *Mon. Germ.*, II, p. 161.

35. It is not certain whether the described series actually existed but it is known that there were at St. Gall important mural decorations.

finds there more often a cycle of hagiographic images along a formula which also dates back to the end of Antiquity, but shows much more originality and individuality in the interpretation of forms.

The paintings of St. Gall, Reichenau, Goldbach and Burgfelden constitute a group, and should always be considered together. The influence of Reichenau is felt outside of the monastery.³⁶ It would be interesting to know whether there was on the island a school of fresco painters, or whether we should look for the origins of these pictorial decorations toward the monks of the *Scriptorium*. If, indeed, the fresco painters responsible for these decorations were monks of the convent, one could state that there was at Reichenau a monastical school of painting, and that, far from being produced by migrating workshops, these artists, all coming from the same place and deeply rooted in the same soil, worked there, unceasingly repeating the same scenes and the same forms.

COLETTE LAMY LASSALLE.³⁷

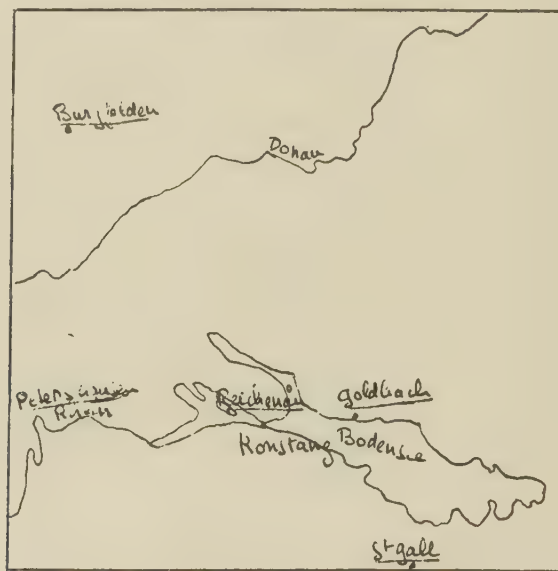


FIG. 18. — Map showing the location of the churches in the Reichenau region, which were decorated with paintings at the same time as the Church of Oberzell.

36. It is rather surprising that an equally strong and continuous influence could not be credited to the famous Benedictine Abbey of Cluny, France. Indeed, we do not find around Cluny an ensemble of mural decorations so evidently stemming from a single source and, therefore, so homogeneous in form and style as the one studied in the region under discussion. This point has been very well brought into light and stressed by PROF. ANDRÉ GRABAR in his study of Romanesque frescoes, published in: "Cahiers Archéologiques," vol. II, Paris, 1947 (à propos the 100th anniversary of the first monograph devoted to Romanesque painting).

37. Photographs reproduced as Figs. 1, 2B, 3, 4B, 8B, 9, 12, 13 and 14 are by DR. E. HARTMANN, Paris. All the other photographs used for the illustration of this article are by DR. J. HECHT, Konstanz a/B.



THE ACADEMICIAN AND THE BOHEMIAN

ZUCCARI

AND

CARAVAGGIO

THE most prominent among the minor artists of the last three decades of the XVI Century was certainly Federico Zuccari who dominated, or tried to dominate, the artistic world in Rome between 1590 and 1600, just when the vigorous and substantial art of the young Lombard painter, Michelangelo da Caravaggio, definitely attracted general attention. Born at the beginning of the Forties, and therefore representing a much older generation than Caravaggio, his character, his aims, his talents are decidedly antithetical to Caravaggio's whole personality, and to everything the latter stood for. Not that he was a bad artist, in

the normal understanding of the word. He mastered his métier quite sufficiently — Caravaggio himself in his enumerations of good and bad artists of his acquaintance, gave him credit for being a "*valenthuomo*" and a "*buon pittore*" along with Pomerancio, Arpino, and even Annibale.¹

Federico began about 1550, when still quite a young man, by assisting his brother in painting facades in Rome.² This brother, Taddeo, had grown up in the Roman tradition of Perino del Vaga and Polidoro da Caravaggio, but had also introduced North-Italian, especially Correggesque elements into his compositions as, for instance, in his much praised frescoes (now rather damaged) on the vault of the Mattei Chapel in Sta. Maria della Consolazione (the church belonging to the hospital in which the young Caravaggio was later treated). In most of his numerous frescoes in palaces in or around Rome — in the Villa di Papa Giulio, as well as in the Sala Regia of the Vatican, in the Orsini Palace of Bracciano or, more important and famous, in Vignola's pentagonal palace of the Farnese in Caprarola — everywhere, a kind of "moderate" *maniera* prevails. The torsions and contrapostos are taken from Michelangelo, but they are displayed in a rather well-ordered structure derived from Raphael and his school. Vasari praises Taddeo's manner as "sweet and succulent" (*dolce e pastosa*). On the other hand, Taddeo lacks the elegant and spirited sharpness of Salviati, his predecessor in the Palazzo Farnese with whom he was early compared — not wholly to his advantage. Of the two brothers, however, Taddeo is generally considered the better and more original artist, though the difference between him and Federico seems not to be very substantial.

Taddeo died at the age of thirty-seven — "like Raphael," says Vasari — and was buried at Raphael's side in the Pantheon. Federico followed in his footsteps at Caprarola, as well as in the Sala Regia and elsewhere. To the already rather eclectic style of his brother he added new elements, picked up on the extensive voyages which led him as far as England. Certainly he was very well acquainted with Venetian painting. About 1580 he even had the great honor of replacing a famous work by Titian (begun by G. Bellini, and later destroyed by fire) in the Palazzo Ducale: the big historical fresco, *Emperor Barbarossa Kneeling before Pope Alexander III*. In his enormous *Last Judgment* for the Florentine Cathedral, he tried to revive the late Florentine mannerism of his predecessor, Vasari, by introducing the chromatic mannerism of Tintoretto.³ He certainly also enlarged Taddeo's rather limited repertory by new "inventions" of an allegorical or literary character, as for instance, the *Angels Adoring the Name of Christ* (Fig. 1), a painting he made about 1590 for a chapel of the Gesù, which, even though pale and thin in execution, nevertheless by its idea inspired the young

1. Cf. BERTOLOTTI, *Artisti Lombardi a Roma*, 1881, vol. II, p. 58.

2. A. VENTURI, *Storia dell' Arte Italiana*, IX, p. 5, (*Taddeo e Federico Zuccari*).

3. Cf. ANTAL, *Kritische Berichte*, 1928-1929, p. 218.

Rubens in his painting in Sta. Maria in Valicella. Even more characteristic, however, are the frescoes in the "artist's mansion," still known as the Palazzo Zuccari. They show not only scenes from the life of his family; they express his whole artistic philosophy. In their pretentiousness and spiritual arrogance they go far beyond the rather modest though equally mediocre illustrations with which Vasari had adorned his house in Arezzo (here as in other cases Zuccari's model).⁴ In his, not very numerous, writings, too, Federico is much more strained, dogmatic, scholastic, than the prolific Vasari, whose main interest is in the artist, not the "idea of the artist," and whose unique importance lies in his factual biographies of artists, and only to a minor degree in his systematic and theoretical observations. Federico Zuccari, on the contrary, is personally and emotionally involved in the emphatic definition and proclamation of the "artist" as something god-like, as an emanation of the Divine Wis-

dom. Zuccari's vanity is not naïve, childlike, and open, like that of Vasari and other similarly active and efficient characters, but of an almost impersonal conceit, and therefore much more dangerous: he feels that he is the bearer of a sacred mission. The divinized artist painted in one of his frescoes in his house, is not himself as an individual, but as he felt himself as the earthly incarnation of this image (Fig. 2).

With such ideals in mind he established the Accademia di S. Luca, whose first *Principe*, or President, he was, and whose initial sessions in 1593 he directed. Zuccari did not intend his new organization to limit its aims to raising the social standing of artists and promoting their talents, as other corporations had done. Such an



FIG. 1. — Federico Zuccari. — Angels Adoring the Name of Christ, altar painting, about 1590. — Cappella degli Angeli in Gesù. Courtesy of Prof. Galassi Paluzzi.

4. Cf. W. KÖRTE, *Der Palazzo Zuccari in Rom*, 1935.

academy as he dreamed of was to be a stronghold of an extremely high conception of the artist's value and mission, and at the same time was to serve as a bulwark against vicious modernistic and individualistic novelties. The statutes proposed by Zuccari, and recorded by the First Secretary of the Academy, Romano Alberti, were therefore of extreme rigor: absolute obedience was postulated for the members, as if they belonged less to a free association of artists than to a militant religious society like the Society of Jesus. "No one in the Academy," one reads under the heading "Prohibitions," "shall dare to act otherwise than in a virtuous and modest way; one shall be quiet and peaceful, and shall in no manner provoke by griping and grouching" (*che non sia alcuno che nell'Accademia ardisca far azione men che modesta . . . e che debbe esser pacifico e quieto e non attizzare nè mormorare*). Every sinner against this law shall immediately be ousted — "at the will and pleasure of the President" (*à volontà e gusto del Signor Principe*); moreover, whoever acts contrary to a command given by the *Principe* shall be imprisoned on the Capitol "on simple order of Signor Principe."⁵

It is rather amusing to fancy how the young Caravaggio, who at this time was already working on his masterly paintings for S. Luigi, would have reacted, if faced by such a narrow-minded suppression of all individuality. Even if he had wished to join the society — as he certainly would not have — he would not have been accepted, or if accepted, he would not have been tolerated. But it is very probable that the young revolutionary intruder into the laborious and relatively peaceful atmosphere of Roman artisans, was not asked to join. His name is, in any case, not to be found in the list of the Academy still preserved.

The young painter certainly was not in the least interested in speculations about the origin and essence of art, nor about the relation of the "*disegno interno*" to the "*disegno esterno*" and so on, in which Zuccari indulged, and with which he sought to imbue the new Academy. Caravaggio was, in his life as well as in his art, too earthbound to perceive in his work the spark of Divinity ("*scintilla della Divinità*") ignited in him through the medium of the angels, and preceded by the "*disegno interno*" or the "*idea*." For him the "*disegno*" was not, as in Zuccari's sophisticated etymology, a "*segno di Dio*" (a sign of God), but something which one had to do, rather than talk about. Zuccari's neo-scholastic terminology, based partly on doctrines of Thomas Aquinas,⁶ corresponded thoroughly to the medievalism postulated by the Council of Trent and to the reactionary ideas of the Counter-Reformation movement under the Holy Popes. But toward the end of the century the fundamental stabilization of the Catholic Church and faith seemed to have been assured. The policy of Clement VIII (already begun by Sixtus V) in accepting the converted Henry of Navarre as King Henry IV, had definitely regained France

5. MISSIRINI, *Memorie . . . della Romana Accademia di S. Luca*, Rome, 1883.

6. Cf. E. PANOFSKY, *Idea*, 1924, p. 36.



FIG. 2. — Federico Zuccari. — The Glorification of the Artist, fresco.

for the Church. The predominant Spanish influence was broken, and with this, the medievalistic and retrospective tendencies began gradually to deflate.

The period of the *maniera* had definitely passed — the time in which it was possible to accuse a Paolo Veronese of having abused holy subjects by introducing musicians and fools into his big painting, the *Feast*

in the House of Levi, as was done by the Venetian Inquisition in 1573; the time in which, about ten years later, the old Florentine sculptor, Ammanati, published his famous "*pater peccavi*" letter, expressing his remorse for having made so many nudities during his lifetime. The rigorous and puritan spirit of the Council of Trent toward the arts was still living at the end of the *maniera* period, as such occurrences demonstrate. It was, however, obviously no longer up to date in the Nineties, when Annibale Carracci painted in the house of one of the highest dignitaries of the Church, Cardinal Odoardo Farnese, the most luxurious work of art since the Renaissance: the ceiling of the Galleria Farnese, celebrating the loves of the pagan gods in the water, in the air, and on earth.

It is therefore not astonishing to find that the extensive theological literature on the use and abuse of works of art in the service of the Church and with regard to general morality, is restricted to the *maniera* period. To quote only the most famous of these publications, Joh. Molanus', *De Pictura et Imaginibus Sacris* appeared in 1570, Cardinal Paleotti's *Discorso Intorno le Immagine Sacre e Profane* in 1582. Nothing of this kind came out after 1590.

Even more surprising, and — as far as I can see — never fully realized, is the fact that not only ecclesiastical writing, but almost the whole of the literature on art after Leonardo, was a product of this period of the *maniera*. With the general decay of visual values in large parts of the artistic production, and with an often exaggerated appreciation of sophisticated and allegorical content, there coexisted the most flourishing and most important literature on art ever seen. The most famous biographies, topographies, and systematic or theoretical treatises, which to a great extent became the much-used models for the art writers and estheticians

of later centuries (especially in the North), appeared one after the other at relatively short intervals in the four decades between 1550 and 1590. The Fifties began with Giorgio Vasari's world-famous *Lives of the Painters, Sculptors, and Architects*, and were followed by Condivi's *Life of Michelangelo* (1553) and Lodovico Dolce's well-known dialogue on painting — *Aretino* (1557). In the Sixties appeared Vincenzo Danti's first book of the *Treatise on Perfect Proportion* (1567), and Benvenuto Cellini's two treatises, on goldsmith's work and sculpture (1568). To the Sixties or the beginning of the Seventies belong the great treatises on architecture, by Vignola and by Palladio (1570); at the beginning of the Eighties appeared Francesco Sansovino's *Venezia Città Nobilissima* (1581), the first compendious description of a town including its works of art, followed the next year by Bocchi's *Beauties of the Town of Florence*. Raffaele Borghini's *Riposo*, the *maniera* continuation of Vasari (1584), is also a work of the Eighties; and in this decade there appeared also the basic general and theoretical treatises on painting, Armenini's *Precepts of Painting* (1587) and, still more important, the two works of Lomazzo, the friend of Caravaggio's teacher Peterezzano: the *Treatise on the Art of Painting* (1584), followed by a kind of appendix: the *Idea of the Temple of Painting*, which appeared in 1590 — the last book of its kind for a very long period.⁷

From the Nineties on, literary utterances on artistic topics seem to have been wiped out almost completely. It appears that connoisseurs and artlovers had become surfeited with literature on art of all kinds; that people left the artists to themselves to solve their new and exciting problems by practise, rather than by theory. In any case it is a significant phenomenon that for at least half a century, from about 1590 to about 1640, no books directly connected with art were published in Italy. One of the very few exceptions is Scamozzi's *Architettura Universale* (1615), a practical architectural handbook, quite naturally in demand in this architectural period, as were the many new editions of Vignola and Palladio. But it is characteristic that there was no demand at all for biographical works on artists — the third edition of Vasari was not published until 1647, about eighty years after the second. The *Considerations on Painting* by Giulio Mancini, the physician of Urban VIII, and one of the most learned and critical art writers of the time, containing the most valuable biographical and critical notes (among them one on Caravaggio) seem not to have found a publisher, for they were never printed. There was, it seems, no further need for prescriptions for the best ways to become an artist or painter, and certainly not for systems and theories. The contrast to the loquacious period of the *maniera* is indeed amazing, in this respect as in others.

This fundamental change in the intellectual cast, of which the almost total disappearance of art literature is but a symptom, made Zuccari's theories already

7. For the dates, cf. SCHLOSSER-MAGNINO, *La Letteratura Artistica*, 1931.



FIG. 3. — Caravaggio. — St. Matthew and the Angel. — Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin.

appear anachronistic when they were professed at the Academy in 1593, and even more so when they came out in print in Turin in the first decade of the new century, at the end of Zuccari's life. They have, indeed, a certain acumen, and are often not without originality. Nevertheless, the whole schematizing and theoretical spirit of Zuccari's *Idea* was exactly as negligible to the younger generation as the spirit and the manner of the works which he had produced during his long lifetime. They appeared as a kind of "revenant" from a dead past in the period of Annibale and Caravaggio, when all the positive forces were concentrated on overcoming the "Gothic" features of

mannerism — in form as well as in feeling — and on opposing abstractions and generalizations of every kind with a resolute approach to nature and human experience.

On the other hand, however, as the sponsor and first President of the Accademia di S. Luca, and as an honorary citizen and patrician of Rome, Federico Zuccari was an outstanding art-political figure. In many parts of Italy, and even more abroad, he had for a long time enjoyed the reputation of being the best, or at least one of the best painters in Italy. He had been called to Spain to paint big frescoes in the Escorial; in Elizabethan England he had made portraits of the Queen and the most prominent personalities there. In the Netherlands some of his works, especially his *Last Judgment* in Florence, seem to have been of some influence on the formation of the late manneristic generation. Otto van Veen, the teacher

of Rubens, had studied under Zuccari in Rome in the late Seventies; Henrik Goltius had paid him a respectful visit in 1591; and the academic encyclopedist, Van Mander, was closely connected with him.

It is true that his artistic reputation had suffered rather appreciable setbacks in the later years of his life. His most pretentious enterprise, the decoration of the inner shell of Brunelleschi's Dome in Florence, had been condemned from the beginning by the Florentines, who, as the satirist Lasca writes in one of his madrigals, would never cease complaining if it were not white-washed one day (*"non sarà mai di lamentarsi stanco, si forse un dì non le si dà un bianco"*). His frescoes in the Escorial, as we know from a letter of the Austrian Ambassador in Madrid, though very well paid, were much disliked by the Spanish King and Court. In his satirical painting, the *Porta Virtutis* he had inconsiderately given vent to his resentment toward some Bolognese critics by representing them with asses' ears. This typical manifestation of an inflated but impotent artist had earned him disgrace with the Bolognese pope, Gregory XIII, and temporary banishment, so that he could hardly finish his frescoes in the Capella Paolina, his last official work in Rome. Under the following popes, too, he was given no more official commissions. Nevertheless, even long after his death, Baglione calls him a *"grand huomo"* and the "most fortunate painter of his time, who made a very considerable income and was more loved and honored by princes than anybody else."

The aging Zuccari found himself, therefore, in a rather precarious position: on the one hand he was spoiled by his successes and overconscious of his mission as the chosen preceptor of art, while on the other he became extremely touchy toward any criticism, and certainly suffered from the younger generation's total disrespect for his art and personality. He could, therefore, not very well overlook the revolutionary products of Caravaggio and even less their subversive influence on public taste. That fully explains the vicious utterances of the old academician against the young genius. Just as every professor of an academy would do, he calls the "extravagance" of Caravaggio's paintings — not to speak of his character — a "more than sufficient" explanation for the great numbers of his admirers and protectors. Since "the richer and more important gentlemen are, the more they feel themselves connoisseurs, and find everything beautiful which has an air of novelty and takes by surprise."⁸

8. These are excerpts from a letter which was published by TICOZZI as an appendix to the seventh volume of his (and BOTTARI'S) *Raccolta di Lettere Sulla Pittura* . . . , Milan, 1822-1825. LONGHI (*Pinacoteca*, I, p. 30, note 1, and p. 320, note) denies the authenticity of this (and some other letters) ascribed to Federico Zuccari, and declares the whole a falsification by TICOZZI, though the latter claimed that the "five letters by Federico Zuccari — until now unpublished — are preserved in the archives of the Collegio Borromeo in Pavia." It is impossible to overlook the inaccuracies and anachronisms of these letters — there are even more than LONGHI indicates. I am inclined to take the Zuccari letters published by TICOZZI not as complete falsifications, but as pasticcios containing excerpts of genuine documents. In any case, the malicious remarks of Zuccari about Caravaggio are very much in character (*se non è vero è ben trovato*). Cf. ERNEST GUHL, *Künstlerbriefe*, 1880, II, p. 32, ff., who dates the letters in the Nineties in spite of the fact that Zuccari worked in Pavia about 1604, and that he mentions Lodovico Carracci as coming to Piacenza, as happened only in 1609 (!). See also: MARGOT CUTTER, *Caravaggio in the XVII Century*, in: "Marsyas," I (1941), p. 90 and note 10.

He tried, earlier, to devaluate even this novelty in Caravaggio's work exclaiming before his masterpiece, the *Calling of St. Matthew* in S. Luigi (Fig. 4), that he saw in it nothing but the manner of Giorgione and did not understand why so much fuss was made about it. But he may have seen its earlier version judged vulgar by the Church and bought by Marchese Giustiniani (Fig. 3).

The wrath of the *Principe dell'Accademia* against the soaring star was without issue. Caravaggio's new art was too powerful, and the admiration for it too widely spread, even up to the highest and most influential circles. The recognition

of his superiority as an artist has so strengthened his position with the noble patrons of art in Rome, the Cardinal del Monte, the Aldobrandinis, the Crescenzis, and last but not least, the Marchese Vincenzo Giustiniani, that even his social misbehavior could not weaken it, whereas Federico Zuccari seems not to have been *persona grata* at the Court and in the environment of Clement VIII. This, and his inability to compete with the powerful forces of the new Renaissance in Rome, of Annibale and of Caravaggio, probably decided Feder-



FIG. 4. — Caravaggio. — The Calling of St. Matthew. — S. Luigi.

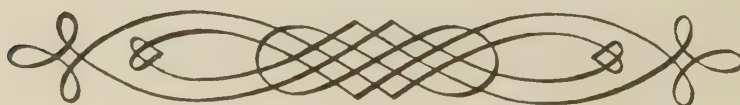
ico to look for honors and fortune outside of Rome, in spite of his interest in the education of the artists and in the Accademia di S. Luca. After having finished the above-mentioned frescoes in his house on the Pincio near Sta. Trinita dei Monti, and making it the seat of the Academy, he left Rome for good in the first years of the new century. After many perigrinations to Venice, Lombardy and Piedmont, he died in Ancona in 1609 — the same year as Annibale, and a year earlier than the man whom he probably hated most, and not without reason, Michelangelo da Caravaggio.

Federico Zuccari has been given so much consideration and space here mainly to indicate a curious social phenomenon. It is perhaps the first time that one can

point to two clearly formed categories of artists existing within the same society, though in different strata: the artist-academician, and the artist-bohemian. The first thinks and works in terms of a community; he subordinates his faculties to its service, but at the same time he tries to impose his ideals — for the most part reactionary — on this community, or the world, as a kind of artistic morality (as did Le Brun and the French Academy in the period of Absolutism). The independent artist, on the other hand, divorces himself more than was earlier thought possible, from the community and convention; in proud isolation from the "bourgeois," whom he is occasionally even inclined to "*épater*," he tries to approach the soul of the common people (as for instance Gustave Courbet did in the XIX Century). Federico Zuccari represents most characteristically the one, Caravaggio decidedly the other type.

These two extremes, however, approach each other, in some way, more than one would think. In this period, public opinion already begins to reserve a special place not only to the individual artist as formerly, but to the artist as such — a process which was to continue in the XVII Century (cf. Poussin's *Inspiration of the Poet*). Zuccari as well as Caravaggio, therefore, have a kind of exceptional position — the first can establish his right to give laws to art and artists on the "Divine spark" which inspires his genius, the other, with the same right of the genius but with no notion of the "spark," can claim unlimited liberty to do and to live as he wishes. In this way it was possible for such different personalities and types as Zuccari and Caravaggio to be approved almost simultaneously, though not necessarily in the same circles — the "*professore di disegno*," in spite of his well-known artistic weakness; the bohemian in spite of his *mala vita*; the educator Zuccari because of his conservatism and faith in his mission; the individualist and revolutionary Caravaggio because of the transfusion of strong and young blood which he poured into the old veins.

WALTER FRIEDLAENDER.





EARLY AMERICAN PREFABRICATION¹

THE first prefabricated house in America was not a success. "Cunningly devised by a notable learned man," it was carried from England across the Atlantic for a gold mining project in Baffin Land. The plan was to leave one hundred men over winter at the new post and to shelter the whole company in a knocked-down wooden house.²

But at a staff meeting held toward the end of summer it was revealed that the north and west walls had not arrived and that many pieces had been lost in fighting ice on the way. In the face of shortening days and the arctic winter it was decided to abandon the idea and all sailed back to England. So ended the first prefabricating adventure in American history. It was not recent, for the Good Queen Bess was on the throne and the year was 1578!³

Later attempts were more successful — for instance, the *Great House* of Edward Winslow which was sent to Cape Ann on the Massachusetts coast in 1624.

1. The writer wishes to acknowledge interesting data called to his attention by MESSRS. HANS HUTH, CAROLL MEEKS, FRANK ROOS and CHARLES VAN RAVENSWAAY.

2. The term "prefabricated" is not susceptible of a simple and complete definition. For a discussion of this see: ROBERT L. DAVISON, *Progress in Prefabrication*, "Journal of the American Institute of Architects," vol. I, No. 5, May 1944. One quoted by MR. DAVISON is: "Prefabrication is a movement to simplify construction by increasing the proportion of work completed before erection."

3. Sir Martin Frobisher's project is described in: *Voyages of the Elizabethan Seamen to America*, EDWARD JOHN PAYNE, ED., Oxford, 1893, pp. 134, 164 and 165.

This wooden building, originally put up for the English fishing fleet, was moved several times and it is thought that parts of it were built into the old Hooper-Hathaway house which still stands in Salem. Certain of the carved oak pieces appear more like English than Colonial workmanship.⁴



FIG. 1. — Prefabricated frame house among the grass huts at Honolulu, 1821. — Bensall View. Courtesy of the Peabody Museum, Salem, Mass.

for the West Indies with two houses "all cut to be erected,"⁵ although labor was scarce in the new colony of Louisiana where saws were worked only by hand or by horsepower.

New England also exported houses, first to the West Indies⁶ and then to the Pacific. Honolulu, a growing American frontier town on the Island of Oahu, was a natural market for them. Timber trees there were hard to find and the tropical woods hard to work. Skilled labor was even scarcer, for the Hawaiians knew how to build only light pole houses thatched with grass or leaves. The Alaska Russians,

4. FRANK CHOUTEAU BROWN, *Salem, Massachusetts*, in: "Pencil Points," XVIII, No. 5 (May, 1937), p. 19. MR. BROWN is of the opinion that both the workmanship and wood are English. When the noted shipbuilder Enos Brigg moved to Salem in 1791, he brought on his sloop the frame of a dwelling house to erect on Harbor Street. CHARLES S. OSGOOD AND H. M. BATCHELDER, *Historical Sketch of Salem*, Salem, 1879, p. 214.

5. ROWLAND DUNBAR AND ALBERT SANDERS, Eds., *Mississippi Provincial Archives*, Jackson, 1929, II, p. 547. As late as the 1790's Louisiana was making portable houses for sale in the West Indies. A. P. WHITAKER, *The Mississippi Question*, Boston and New York, 1934, p. 131.

6. Various unlisted manifests deposited in the old customs records at the Salem (Mass.) National Maritime Site shown the writer by Acting Custodian, Luckett.

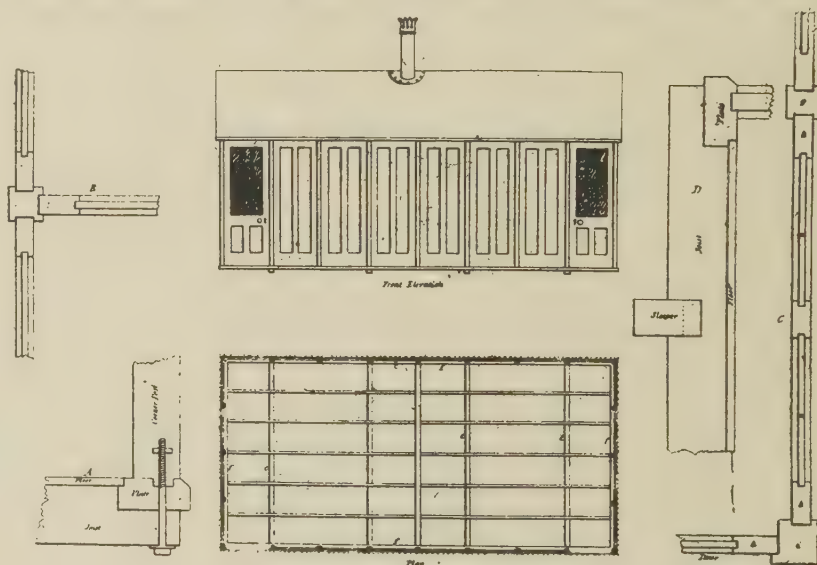


FIG. 2. — Interchangeable panels, 1840. — Plan of a Cottage by John Hall. Courtesy of the University of Virginia Library.



FIG. 3. — Corrugated iron, Liverpool, 1849. — Warehouse prefabricated for the California Gold Rush.
From: "London Illustrated News," XIV (1849), p. 109.

secretly plotting a settlement in Hawaii, loaded a framed house aboard ship at Sitka in 1808.⁷ While their project fell through and the house never reached its destination, Yankee traders and missionaries had better success with the idea. The old *Mission House*, still standing in downtown Honolulu, was sent out by Boston friends eighteen thousand miles around the Horn, to arrive on Christmas Day of 1820.⁸ The early white traders had been content to live in grass houses with the native women, but the missionaries brought their wives. Out of sympathy for the "females of the mission" Boston friends sent out the house frame, complete with lumber and fittings. A few months later it was set up on the dusty plain at Kawai-ahao, where it formed a striking contrast with the new grass church and the typical Hawaiian huts of the villagers (Fig. 1). It is now the oldest wooden building in those Islands. Similar structures followed, among which was a frame church shipped from New London in 1832 and set up in the heart of Honolulu's grog shop district, for the edification of seamen ashore.⁹

All of these buildings were of the old massive hewn-frame type, mortised and pinned together with wooden pegs in the same way that wooden ships were sometimes made for assembly on distant beaches. The hewing and fitting of these frames in the traditional way required many hours of exacting work by the most highly skilled craftsmen, and it was a great advantage to prefabricate them at a place

7. ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL, *A Voyage Round the World From 1806 to 1812*, Roxbury, Mass., 1819, p. 81.

8. HIRAM BINGHAM, *A Residence of Twenty-one Years in the Sandwich Islands, etc.*, Hartford, 1849, p. 61; "Thaddeus Journal," Dec. 25, 1820, (Transcript at the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library, Honolulu).

9. "Sixth Annual Report of the American Seaman's Friend Society," New York, 1834, p. 7.

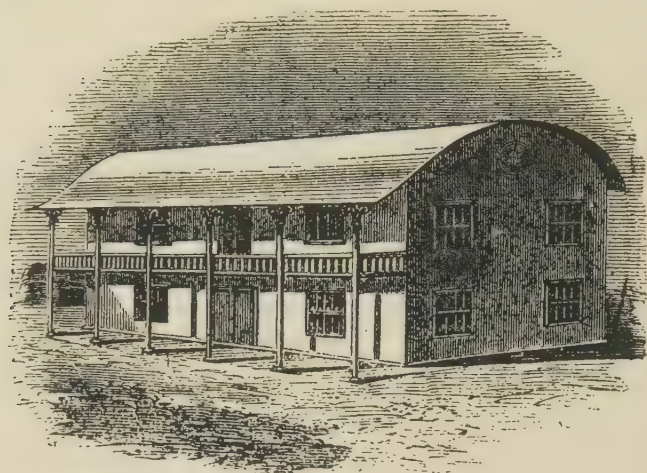


FIG. 4. — Corrugated iron, London, 1849. — Iron house by John Walker shipped to San Francisco. From: "London Illustrated News," XIV (1849).

where labor was plentiful. As the modern "balloon frame" invented in Chicago¹⁰ slowly supplanted the hewn frame (by the use of such light machine-sawn sticks as two-by-fours quickly fastened together with cheap machine-made nails), prefabrication lost much of its advantage in labor saving.

Just as the Middle West was getting out of the log cabin stage, local genius was at work on labor saving schemes.¹¹ As early as 1819 David Delauney, a sawmill operator, was advertising in a St. Louis

newspaper that: "Those who wish to procure houses framed and put together at the mill, will have them done to order, with the best materials and delivered at his landing below the mouth of the Missouri."¹² Another scheme was announced a few years later with a proposal to float houses down the river from Pennsylvania to Mississippi.¹³ Several water-borne dwellings still stand in Missouri river towns today. A high point in the story is the awarding of the Grand Silver Medal in 1859 to one Robert J. McDougall for a portable house displayed at the annual fair of the St. Louis Agricultural and Mechanical Association.¹⁴

Since not everyone could live on a river, something more portable had to be found and new developments in SECTIONAL housing were under way by this time.

10. The most common type of house in XVIII Century St. Louis was the "palisadoed" house (*maison de poteaux en terre*) than which none could be less portable. It is interesting to note at the same place two examples of portable houses. In 1779 Louis Dubreuil sold Louis Perrault an orchard with a *cabanne portative* used to guard it. "St. Louis Recorded Archives," 2/1/pp. 179, 180. When Pierre Dorion died at Petit Rocher on the river just below St. Louis, he left *una casa ambulante*, 12' x 15', with a floor and ceiling, roofed with clapboards, *Ibid.*, 5/1/pp. 173-176, 2/2/pp. 330 and 331.

11. "Missouri Gazette" (St. Louis), Nov. 10, 1819.

12. FRANK J. ROOS, JR., *Writings on Early American Architecture*, Columbus, 1943, p. 19.

13. See: WALKER FIELD, *A Reexamination Into The Invention of The Balloon Frame* in: "Journal of the American Society of Architectural Historians," vol. II, No. 4 (Oct. 1942), p. 3.

14. *Edward's Illustrated Report of the Fourth Annual Fair of the St. Louis Agricultural and Mechanical Association*, St. Louis, 1860, p. 135. All the American frame houses were more or less movable, even as single units. The ABBÉ ROBIN, Chaplain of the French expeditionary force enroute to Yorktown, describes the houses of Boston with amazement:

"The wooden work of frame is light, covered on the outside with thin boards, well plained [*sic.*], and lapped over each other as we do tiles on our roofs in France; these buildings are usually painted with a pale white colour, which renders the prospect much more pleasing than it would be otherwise. . . .

"All the parts of these buildings are so well joined and their weight is so equally divided, and proportionate to their bulk, that they may be removed from place to place with little difficulty, — I have seen one of two stories high removed above a quarter of a mile, if not more, from its original situation, and the whole French army have seen the same thing done at Newport. What they tell us of the travelling habitations of the Scythians, is far less wonderful." ABBÉ ROBIN, *New Travels Through North America*, Boston, 1784, p. 12.

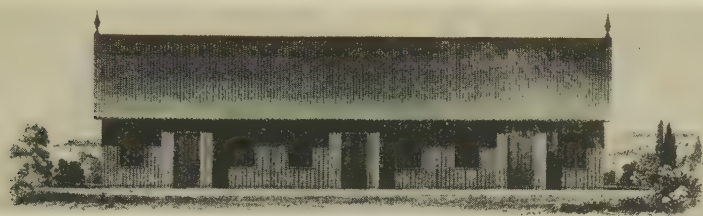


FIG. 5. — Corrugated iron, Manchester, 1850. — House prefabricated in England for California. From the "Allgemeine Bauzeitung," XV (1850). Courtesy of the Art Institute of Chicago.

In 1840 John Hall, a Baltimore architect, published *A Series of Select and Original Modern Designs for Dwelling Houses for the Use of Carpenters and Builders Adapted to the Style of*

Building in the United States. In this volume is illustrated a cottage made of interchangeable wooden panels, some solid and some glazed, to be bolted together at the site of erection. This house had two rooms each twelve feet square and was to be covered with a tarpaulin roof — if there was not time to put on one of shingles. "Its weight would not exceed a ton," wrote Hall, "and might therefore be easily drawn with one horse."¹⁵ His plan for this cottage (Fig. 2) was accompanied by the following comments: "The principal object of this portable cottage is to supply persons with comfortable and secure lodgings, immediately on their arrival at a new settlement."

For convenience the parts were dimensioned to be interchangeable, "that is — all the panels, posts and plates, being respectively of the same length, breadth and thickness; no mistake or loss of time can occur in putting them together."

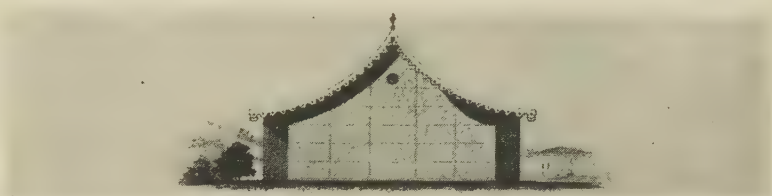


FIG. 6. — Corrugated iron, Manchester, 1850. — House prefabricated in England for California. From the "Allgemeine Bauzeitung," XV (1850). (End elevation of house reproduced as Fig. 5). Courtesy of the Art Institute of Chicago.

It is difficult to estimate the originality of Hall's idea, for similar developments were taking place in England.¹⁶ "The Builder," a London magazine issued first in 1843, reveals much activity in the field of prefabrication. So-called "portable" wooden cottages had been in use in Northern England for several years and

were specially designed for quick assembly at the site of erection.¹⁷ They were also manufactured on a large scale for shipment to the colonies. While one writer admitted that "no great display

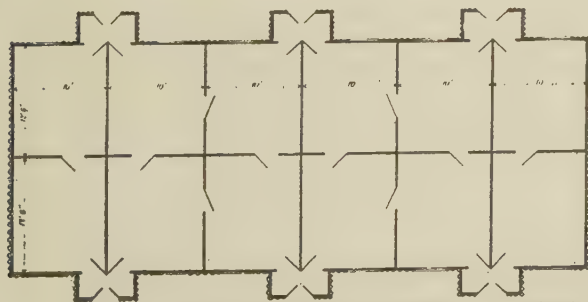


FIG. 7. — Plan of House prefabricated in England for California and shown in Figs. 5 and 6.

15. Published Baltimore, 1840, p. 24.

16. For some notes on houses framed in England in the 1790's for use in Africa, see: GEORGE KUBLER, *The Machine for Living in 18th Century West Africa*, in: "Journal of the American Society of Architectural Historians," Vol. IV, No. 2 (April, 1944), p. 30.

17. "The Builder," I, pp. 178-180 (May 21, 1843).



FIG. 8. — Corrugated iron, Manchester, 1850. — House and Warehouse prefabricated in England for California. From the "Allgemeine Bauzeitung," XV (1850). Courtesy of the Art Institute of Chicago.

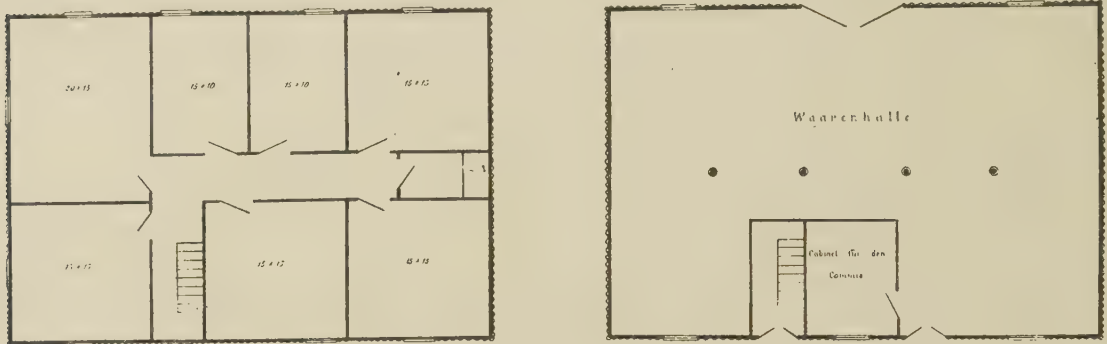


FIG. 9. — Plans of house and warehouse reproduced as Fig. 8.

of architecture can be attempted in such cases" not all of these buildings were small. A two-story twelve room house was sent off to India that year.¹⁸ Most newsworthy was the large palace made for a native king on the Coast of Africa and exhibited in Liverpool. This was built of iron plates and panels fastened to a wooden skeleton and "ornamented throughout in a style of most gorgeous magnificence."¹⁹ More significant was the new material — galvanized iron — which had recently been developed as a commercial product. Its value for building walls and roofs was gaining general recognition.²⁰

Such inventions were just in time to cash in on the California Gold Rush. Thousands upon thousands of men landed in San Francisco; there was little shelter and little with which to build. The Spanish had clung to their abode tradition and neglected the magnificent timber of the region.²¹ The few Americans operating saw-mills — Captain John A. Sutter who first discovered gold was one of them — could not produce enough to meet the demand. Gold dust was plentiful, but there was little to buy.

18. *Ibid.*, I, p. 70 (March 18, 1843).

19. *Ibid.*, I (Feb. 18, 1843), I, pp. 170 and 171 (May 13, 1843).

20. "The Builder," I, pp. 77 and 78 (March 25, 1843); H. W. DICKINSON, *A Study of Galvanized and Corrugated Sheet Metal* (Mimeographed), Newcomen Society, 1943, pp. 2, 7.

21. HUBERT HOWE BANCROFT, *History of California*, San Francisco, 1884-1890, VII, p. 76.

The answer to the housing shortage was prefabrication, and for two years all the world seemed to be building houses for California. The United States, England, France, Germany, Belgium, even China, New Zealand and Tasmania contributed to what was the most international architecture the world has ever seen. In the New York area alone over 5,000 of these structures had been built, or were under contract, by the beginning of 1850. "Altogether," declared the "Polynesian" of Honolulu, "California will prove an anomaly in architecture, as it is in every other respect." The ships transporting these buildings would have formed a fleet in themselves. One New York firm shipped a hundred portable wooden houses to be carried over the Isthmus of Panama on pack mules and sent one hundred seventy-five more around the Horn. It also fabricated a three and a half story hotel to be erected at San Francisco and called the *Astor House*. The latter had a front of 180 feet and, embellished with a wide ornamental entrance, contained ten stores and one hundred rooms.²² Most of the houses, however, were small. One of wood bought by a ship's captain from a carpenter at Le Havre for 800 francs, was 10' x 24'.²³ A shipment



FIG. 10. — Design of a "portable sectional" Chapel by Skillings and Flint, 1861. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

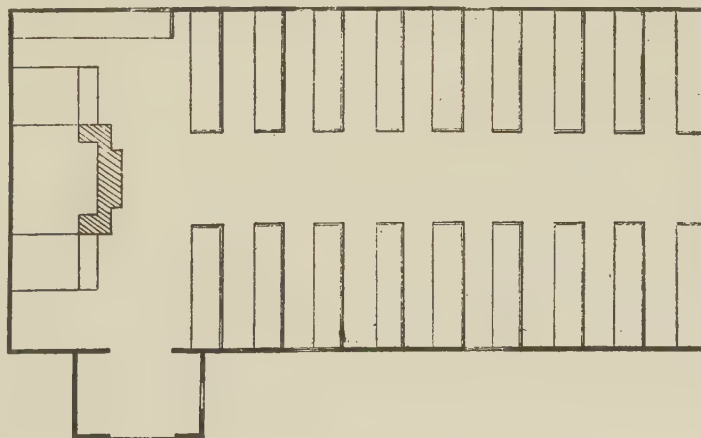


FIG. 11. — Plan of the Chapel reproduced as Fig. 10.

22. "The Polynesian" (Honolulu), March 2, 1850. Besides prefabs, the East coast ships carried more conventional cargoes. The "Crescent," John Madison, Master, owned by the Salem Mechanics' Trading and Mining Association, cleared for San Francisco Bay on Dec. 3, 1849. She "was loaded with 130,000 feet of lumber, framed, and made ready for erection into houses; and the framework of a small steamboat," OSGOOD AND BATCHELDER, *Op. cit.*, p. 200.

23. MS receipt dated February 10, 1850 for "*une maison en bois de sapin 8 mètres de façade 6 mètres 33 de profondeur y compris le Peristyle and 3 mètres 30 de hauteur sous larmier, fourniture de la serrure, prix convenu: 800 f.*" San Francisco Customs Records (MS), Bancroft Library, Berkeley, California.



FIG. 12. — West India Plantation House Group by Skillings and Flint, 1861.

from Hong Kong averaged 13' x 25' in size.²⁴ New Zealand houses mostly ran about the same.²⁵ Roxbury Cottages, "complete with windows, doors, blinds, shingles, partitions, flooring and covering" were twice that size.²⁶

The iron buildings excited the most interest. A civil engineer astonished a Liverpool newspaper by building an iron warehouse for California in twenty-three days (Fig. 3).²⁷ One London builder produced round-topped designs of corrugated galvanized iron which looked something like the Quonset huts put up by the Seabees in the recent Pacific war (Fig. 4).²⁸ These were very compact when dismantled for shipment. An invoice preserved in the San Francisco customs records lists two English examples shipped in seventy-three separate crates,²⁹ and another, a combination house and store "as per Drawing and Specification with tools for

24. "Alta California" (San Francisco), Sept. 20, 1849.

25. "Honolulu Times," May 8, 1850.

26. "Polynesian," April 12, 1851. The *Roxbury Cottages* sold in the Pacific do not appear to be related to the Elizabethan and Gothic Revival houses described in: WILLIAM BAILEY LANG, *Views With Ground Plans of The Highland Cottages at Roxbury*, Boston, 1845.

27. "London Illustrated News," XIV (1849), p. 109: "Our Sketch shows Mr. Grantham's building-ground, with the Mersey, here about one and a quarter wide, and the Welch hills in the distance. In the yard, the warehouse is seen just as it appeared the day before it was taken down for shipment for California. As the whole of the iron was galvanized, it was nearly white and had a singular appearance."

28. *Ibid.*, XV (1849), p. 20. This iron house, made by John Walker of London, 40' x 75' in size, cost six hundred pounds. It was shipped to San Francisco and followed by eight others from the same maker. "Corrugated iron has all the strength of brick work, without its great weight: it is peculiarly adapted for portable dwellings and store houses being very light, and packing so close, that the expense of freight is comparatively small."

29. Invoice of shipment by Pigler Bros., London, per Lady Amherst, May 16, 1850; value: £150; *San Francisco Customs House Records*.

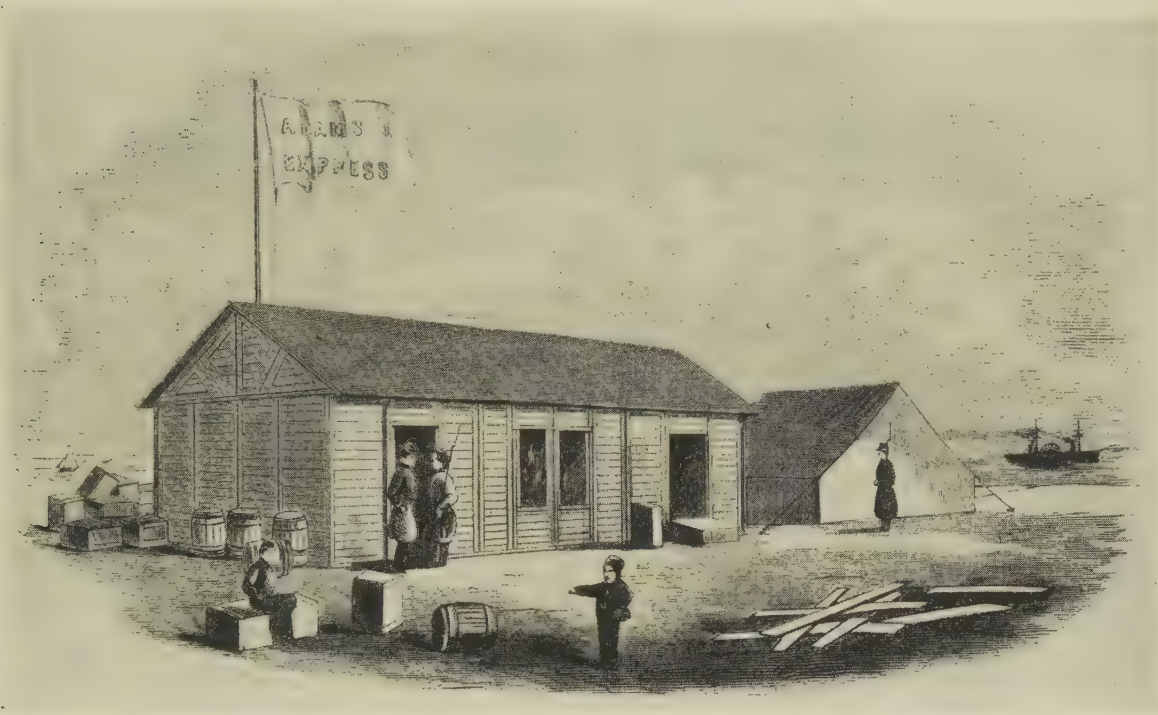


FIG. 13. — Prefabrication for War, 1861. — Express Office at Port Royal by Skillings and Flint.

erecting the same."³⁰ Several hundred galvanized iron houses were shipped to California by Messrs. E. T. Bellhouse and Co. of Manchester. Some of these were completely outfitted, including such amenities as wallpaper, carpets, furniture and a water closet. The Vienna *Allgemeine Bauzeitung* also took notice of California Gold Rush prefabrication. "Iron is cheap in England so people thought of using it for making houses . . . they have already made hundreds of such and sent them to California, some completely furnished (Figs. 5 to 9)."³¹ Construction in this case consisted of a wrought iron lattice work resting on a wooden base and covered with corrugated iron.

Americans were also making them. Robbins and Treadwell of New York built some six hundred in two years and S. P. Lincoln of Brooklyn, two hundred. Models which cost less than four hundred dollars in New York sold for five thousand in California. It was truly the Golden Age of the prefabricated house.³²

But the end came in March of 1850 when the building materials market of San Francisco became flooded causing prices to tumble.³³ The phenomenal demand had caused the quick development of the lumber industry and the imported house

30. Invoice dated May 1850. Item bought of Mr. Edwin Maw, Liverpool; value: £950; *Ibid.*

31. "Allgemeine Bauzeitung" (Vienna), XV (1850), pp. 184 and 185.

32. PROFESSOR RALPH BIEBER of Washington University, collecting notes for a work on the Gold Rush, advises this writer that he has seen much data on this subject.

33. "Polynesian," March 30, 1850.

with its high shipping cost could not meet the competition of cheap local material. Several great fires swept the flimsy young city of San Francisco and its foreign-built houses have now been all but forgotten.

Prefabrication, however, continued to challenge men's minds at this period, and examples may be found in widely separated places. Skillings and Flint, lumber dealers of New York and Boston, invented a small house which could allegedly be erected by unskilled labor in only three hours and was adaptable to "almost every style of architecture." These, like Hall's houses, had standard interchangeable parts and were developed just in time to sell to the Union Army at the outset of the Civil War. The promotional volume, entitled *Illustrated Catalogue of Portable Sectional Buildings*, describes the benefits of prefabrication in glowing terms. In addition to the more familiar advantages it reminds the public that "one of these buildings can be easily taken down and the sections snugly packed away until again wanted for use: thus it will be saved from the wear and tear to which unoccupied buildings are subject when exposed to the elements."³⁴ Referring to the design of a chapel (Figs. 10 and 11) it states that: "It is admirably suited to the wants of a small rural society, from its cheapness; and by trailing a woodbine over its exterior, and adding a few simple ornaments to the interior, it could be made to exceed in neatness and beauty many a costly meeting-house." The design of a West India Plantation house, published in the same catalogue is described in a no less advertising way: "No kind of building has been devised, that admits of so free a disposition, such great variety of attractive styles, and whose general appearance when grouped together is so tasteful and showy, *at so small a cost*, as our Portable Sectional Houses. A village almost in a day." And another design in the same catalogue shows an example of prefabrication used in 1861 for war needs (Fig. 13). It is accompanied by the following description: "This plate is an illustration of a Building sent by us to Port Royal, and made use of as an Express Office by the well-known firm of Adams & Co. It is from a sketch made by a soldier in the army." Barracks buildings were also advertised. "As quarters for soldiers, officers of the regular army have pronounced them 'unequalled'."

The early prefabricated house never became of lasting importance. In spite of its obvious advantages, achievement of low cost and pleasing architectural character remained unsolved problems. These are difficulties which challenge the designers and technicians of today. In the face of another great shortage of housing and an abundance of money, the ready-made house is again in the public eye. Whether or not it will eventually, through the magic of the machine and the assembly line, compete with the traditional house custom-built on the site, remains to be seen. But whatever come to pass, the prefabs of today are not, as we have just seen, the first in American history.

CHARLES E. PETERSON.

34. D. N. SKILLINGS AND D. B. FLINT, Boston, 1862.



THE LITERARY WORLD OF ALBERT PINKHAM RYDER

THIS year is significant in the history of American art — it is the centennial of the birth of Albert Pinkham Ryder.* The perusal of sixty-five years of evaluation and discussion of Ryder's art reveals a particular aspect of the man's background and creative activity which has been neglected almost completely. This is the literary aspect. Yet the literary influence on Ryder is very marked; forty-two (more than a fourth) of the paintings attributable to him are inspired by literary themes. The literary character of Ryder's background thus shows an importance comparable to that of the marine and pastoral. The purpose of this article is to determine, from his literary paintings, what books Ryder read, and to examine these books with the object of seeing what influences they had on Ryder's paintings and on his attitude toward life. A tabulation of the result of the determinations will be given at the end of the article.

Before entering fully into the subject of Ryder's literary world of reading, mention should be made of his poetry. Praise of the poems Ryder wrote as a hobby, gave him more pleasure than praise for his painting.¹ He felt that his oils *should* be

* While published in 1948, this article was written in 1947.

1. H. E. SCHNAKENBERG, *Albert Pinkham Ryder*, in: "Arts," VI, 271-5 (Nov. 1924).



FIG. 1. — ALBERT PINKHAM RYDER. — *Coustance*. — Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass.
Courtesy of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts.

good, inasmuch as he had set himself before the world as a painter. But, as he did not turn his deepest strength into poetry for a sustained period, any beauty which his poems embodied was testimony of a spontaneity which he was often slow to reach on canvas. One writer has even said that: "Ryder was impelled to poetic expression in the belief that he would be able to say more in poetry than in painting."² This is probably not true or Ryder would have used more ink than oil. The writer was closer to the truth, however, when he placed Ryder "among the minor poets of America." The fourteen of Ryder's poems so far known to survive show that he had a poet's sensitivity to the sounds and metrics of language. Frederick Fairchild Sherman rightfully believed that if Ryder had given as much effort to his poetry as he did to his paintings, America would have had another great poet.

2. WALTER DE S. BECK, *Albert Pinkham Ryder, An Appreciation*, in: "International Studio," LXX, 42 (April 1920).

However, no detailed discussion of Ryder's poetry will be made in this article. For the texts of Ryder's poems, the reader is referred to Lloyd Goodrich's coming book on Ryder's paintings and writings.³ The fact that Ryder was seriously interested in writing poetry as well as reading it, denotes the importance of the literary to him, as well as indicates that he drew inspiration from it for his painting.

New Bedford, Ryder's birthplace, was at the height of its whaling reputation in 1847. Among the strong, tar-stained sailors who crowded its fish-smelling streets was one lad with a box of brushes under his arm instead of a coil of rope. Young Ryder had generations of seafarers' blood in him—ever since Samuel Ryder had come adventuring to old Yarmouthport in

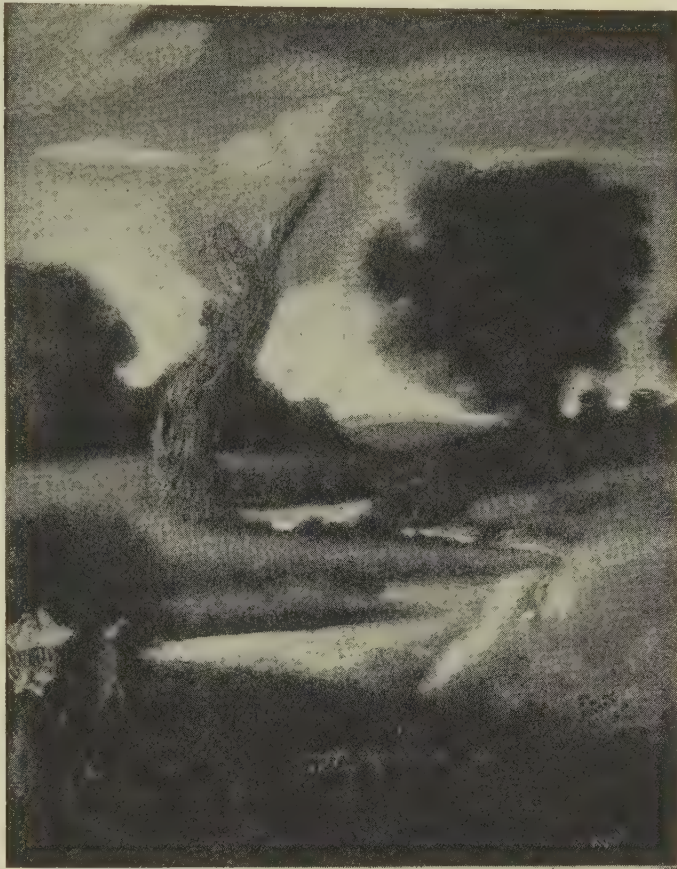


FIG. 2. — ALBERT PINKHAM RYDER. — *The Forest of Arden*. — Stephen C. Clark Collection, New York.

1638. The sea had a fascination for Albert, too, but he loved it for different reasons. It did not mean to him a wealth of commerce and fishing. It was an immense, wild force whose rhythmical pitchings and rollings and whose calm, wide-eyed moon held a beauty he dwelt on and loved.

Business reasons moved the Ryder family to New York City in 1871. Here Albert found himself plunged more than ever into a pushing, acquisitive society. Manhattan's walled streets were echoing daily with the news of rising and falling credit gargantuanas, the gobbling up of the West by the railroads, and the corruption of Congress. During the nights, the streets were alive with flickering lights and can-can music. It was a world of bewildering complexity and crass materialism. It was not a world for sensitive Albert Pinkham Ryder. As a result, Ryder withdrew into a world of his own. He strolled the wooded and pastured Jersey palisades by sun and moon, read his favorite poets, and painted the sea. He roomed alone in a cluttered

3. The texts of the poems may also be found in my: *The Poems of Albert Pinkham Ryder, studied in relation to his person and paintings*, MS (Feb. 1947) on file in the Columbia University Library.



FIG. 3. — ALBERT PINKHAM RYDER. — Temple of the Mind. — Albright Art Gallery, Buffalo, N. Y. Courtesy of the Albright Art Gallery.

Chaucer, he chose a tender pathetic scene — Coustance adrift at sea in a rudderless boat with her new-born babe (Fig. 1). Was this symbolic of Ryder, sensitive to beauty, living alone in the Gilded Age? He read the *Ancient Mariner* and painted, not the mariner shooting the albatross, but a line that brought back to him his vision of the sea — “with sloping mast and dipping prow.” To Ryder Shakespeare did not mean Falstaff, Malvolio, or Sir

tered studio, making few friends, living for his walks, his books, and his memories of the ocean on moonlit nights.

Ryder’s worldly contacts were consequently as pure and sweet as the pasture and the sea. When he read, he sought the same atmosphere. Literary characters and situations were real to him, in his withdrawal from the roaring Eighties and gay Nineties. He painted the ones he loved so that he could know them better and love them more. Out of rollicking, robust

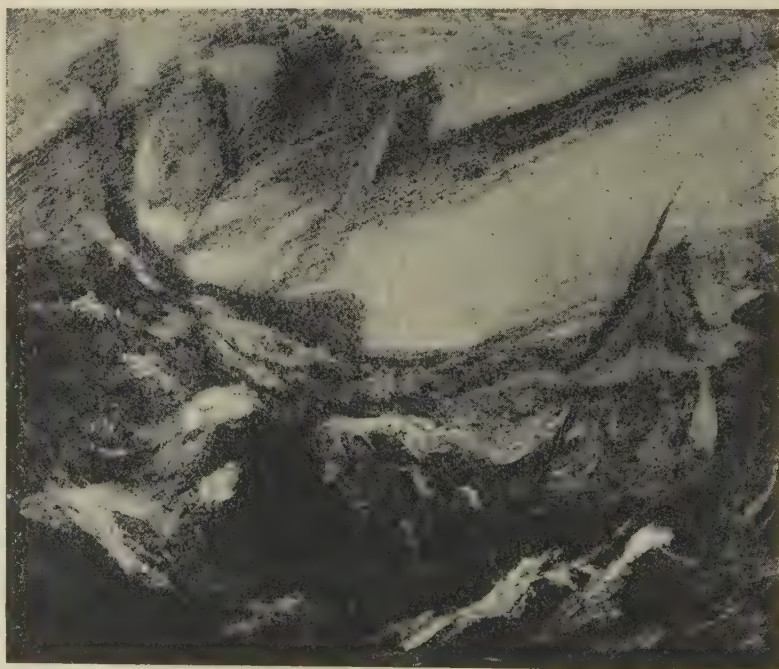


FIG. 4. — ALBERT PINKHAM RYDER. — The Flying Dutchman. — National Collection of Fine Arts, Smithsonian Institution, Washington. Courtesy of the National Collection of Fine Arts.



FIG. 5. — ALBERT PINKHAM RYDER. — *Nourmahal*. — Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum.

Toby Belch. Rather did he see Prospero and Miranda, or Rosalind and Celia against a background of the *Forest of Arden* (Fig. 2).

The literary Romanticists of the early part of his own century naturally had the strongest appeal for Ryder. Did they not believe that man was good, that nature was the embodiment of God's excellency? Did they not wish to rid man of his dirty, fettering factories and cities for a return to the simplicity of medieval days? Of the eighteen authors from whose works Ryder painted themes, eleven can be considered part of the Romantic Movement. And, from four of the remaining seven authors, Ryder chose themes which were romantic or sentimental. He even echoed in oil what might be considered akin to the literary "Gothic" strain in Romanticism; witness his *Temple of the Mind* from Poe's *Fall of the House of Usher* (Fig. 3), and the *Flying Dutchman* from the legend used by Marryat, Wagner, and Poe (Fig. 4).

One of the most interesting parallels in the literary world to Ryder's painting and poetry is found in Thomas Moore's *Lalla Rookh*. It is from this series of poems and prose passages that Ryder painted *Nourmahal* (Fig. 5). Again and again throughout the poems, Moore pictures a moonlight setting in forest or on



FIG. 6. — ALBERT PINKHAM RYDER. — *The Waste of Waters is their Field.* — Brooklyn Museum, Brooklyn, N. Y. *Courtesy of the Brooklyn Museum.*

Moore's description of Mokanna's palace in the *Veiled Prophet of Khorassan* section of *Lalla Rookh*, includes some paintings which could have been Ryder's—their treatment is so pure and innocent:⁶

"Bright images, that
spoke without a
sound;

4. THOMAS MOORE, *Lalla Rookh*, in: "The Poetical Works of Thomas Moore," New York, P. F. Collier, p. 395 (undated).

5. *Ibid.*, p. 320.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 337.

lake which is directly comparable to Ryder's peaceful moonlit marines. There is a reference to a rudderless boat in one section of the book⁴ which must have interested Ryder in relation to his painting *Coustance*. Ryder repeated one of Moore's couplets so frequently in connection with his painting, the *Sylvan Dance*, that Sherman included it in his book as Ryder's own verse. The couplet is:⁵

"Oh no, I have no voice
or hand
For such a song in
such a land."

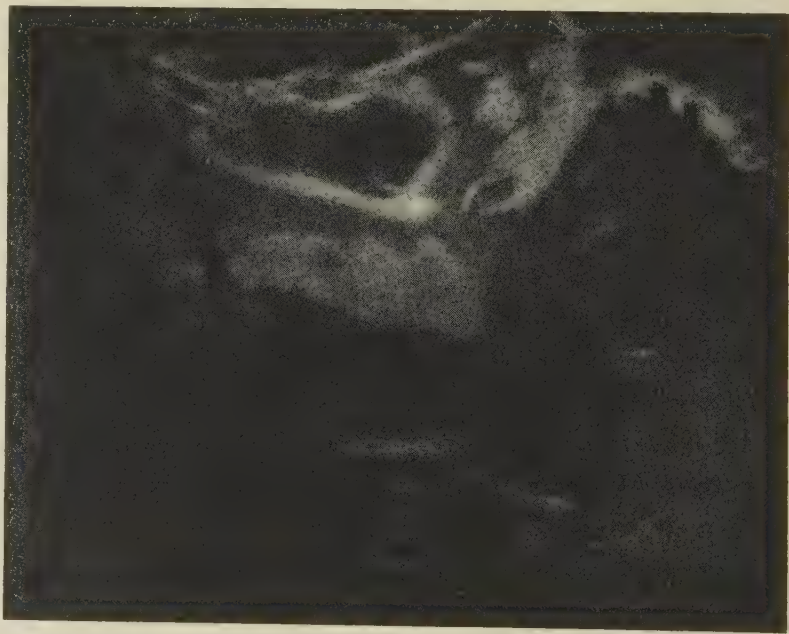


FIG. 7. — ALBERT PINKHAM RYDER. — *Macbeth and the Witches.* — Phillips Memorial Gallery, Washington. *Courtesy of the Phillips Memorial Gallery.*

And views, like vistas
into fairy ground.
But here again new
spells came o'er his
sense: —

All that the pencil's
mute omnipotence
Could call up into
life, of soft and fair,
Of fond and passion-
ate, was glowing
there;

Nor yet too warm, but
touched with that
fine art

Which paints of pleas-
ure but the purer
part;

Which knows even
Beauty when half-
veiled is best,

Like her own radiant
planet of the west,

Whose orb when half-retir'd looks loveliest."



FIG. 8. — ALBERT PINKHAM RYDER. — Siegfried and the Rhine Maidens. — Mellon Collection, National Gallery of Art, Washington. Courtesy of the National Gallery.

Ryder's mysticism was probably strengthened by the mystical aspect of the Romanticists. The poet-painter Blake, who denied the existence of matter and sang in an unearthly voice, had a singular suggestiveness and a strong bent for symbolizing the innocent and sinister forces of nature which seem likely progenitors of Ryder's own mysticism. Ryder once wrote to a friend of the difficulty he had in trying to paint the immanent in things, that element beyond the eye's imagination:

"Have you ever seen an inch worm crawl up a leaf or twig, and there clinging to the very end, revolve in the air, feeling for something to reach something? That's like me. I am trying to find something out there beyond the place on which I have a footing."⁷

So does Ryder embody the main characteristics of the Romantic literature he steeped himself in. Like Blake, he endeavored to reach beyond the saccharine

7. ALBERT PINKHAM RYDER, *Paragraphs from the Studio of a Recluse*, in: "Broadway Magazine," XIV, 10-11 (Sept. 1905).

superficialities of many of the Romanticists. However, he was most successful in this when he shook off the dreams of other men and painted from his own native heritage of sea experiences. The apex of Ryder's art lies in his marines.

Mark Twain's reaction to the materialism of his times was the antithesis of Ryder's withdrawal from it. Mark Twain, with a sensitivity merely approaching Ryder's but a worldly awareness surpassing his, looked under the bed of civilization and didn't like what he saw. He ribbed materialism and its *nouveaux riches* in *Innocents Abroad*, exposed them in the *Gilded Age*, and laughed at them in the lyceum. But in his later years he found himself alone in his laughter, and few people laugh in solitude. With bitterness he wrote the *Man that Corrupted Hadleyburg*, and in the end died discouraged and misanthropic.

Ryder had too fine a sense of beauty and value to expose himself to such an antagonistic battle as the more courageous and analytical Mark Twain had. He drew away from the struggle against his fellow man, ignored the Darwinian realization that man, too, is an animal. He retired to his books, to live in a world gone by, and to the meadows and the sea where man is alone. This was Ryder's solution of a problem which, on the centennial of his birth, still confronts every artist.

RICHARD BRADDOCK.



APPENDIX

SOURCES OF LITERARY SUBJECTS OF RYDER'S PAINTINGS⁸

AUTHORS	WRITINGS	PAINTINGS
BYRON	<i>Childe Harold's Pilgrimage</i>	<i>Childe Harold's Pilgrimage</i>
CAMPBELL	<i>Lord Ullen's Daughter</i>	<i>The Sea</i>
CERVANTES	<i>Don Quixote</i>	<i>Don Quixote Fighting Trees</i>
CHAUCER	<i>The Man of Lawes Tale</i>	<i>Coustance</i>
COLERIDGE	<i>The Ancient Mariner</i> (line 45)	<i>With Sloping Mast and Dipping Prow</i>
GRAY	<i>Elegy to a Country Churchyard</i>	<i>Elegy</i>
HUGO	<i>Toilers of the Sea</i>	<i>Toilers of the Sea</i>
KEATS	<i>St. Agnes' Eve</i>	<i>St. Agnes' Eve</i>
LA FONTAINE	<i>Fables</i>	<i>Perette</i>
LONGFELLOW	<i>Evangeline</i>	<i>The Little Maid of Acadie</i>
MOORE	<i>The Light of the Haram</i> (from <i>Lalla Rookh</i>)	<i>Nourmahal</i> (Fig. 5)
POE	<i>The Haunted Palace</i> (from <i>Fall of the House of Usher</i>)	<i>The Temple of the Mind</i> (Fig. 3)

8. The titles of the paintings listed here were taken from lists in the books on Ryder by FREDERIC FAIRCHILD SHERMAN and FREDERICK NEWLIN PRICE.

AUTHORS	WRITINGS	PAINTINGS
SHAKESPEARE	<i>As You Like It</i> <i>As You Like It</i> <i>Hamlet</i> <i>Love's Labour's Lost</i> <i>Macbeth</i> <i>Othello</i> <i>The Tempest</i> <i>Two Gentlemen from Verona</i> <i>The Winter's Tale</i>	<i>The Forest of Arden</i> (Fig. 2) <i>Rosalind and Celia</i> <i>Ophelia</i> <i>King Cophetua and the Beggar Maid</i> <i>Macbeth and the Witches</i> (Fig. 7) <i>Desdemona</i> <i>Prospero and Miranda</i> <i>Launce and His Dog</i> <i>Florizel and Perdita</i> <i>Arcadia</i>
SIDNEY	<i>Arcadia</i>	<i>The Waste of Waters is Their Field</i>
SOUTHEY	<i>Madoc in Wales</i> (Part IV, line 16)	(Fig. 6)
	OR	
THOMSON	<i>The Seasons: Winter</i> (line 165)	<i>The Waste of Waters is Their Field</i> (Fig. 6)
STERNE	<i>The Sentimental Journey</i>	<i>Sentimental Journey</i> (also referred to as <i>A Moonlight Journey</i>)
TENNYSON	<i>Idylls of the King</i> <i>Sleeping Beauty</i>	<i>Elaine</i> <i>The Two Lovers</i>
WAGNER	<i>Siegfried</i>	<i>Siegfried and the Rhine Maidens</i> (Fig. 8)
BIBLICAL	<i>Matthew 23:29 or John 20:17</i> <i>John 20:17</i> <i>John 20:17</i> <i>Genesis 12:10</i> <i>Jonah</i> <i>John 20:17</i> <i>John 20:17</i> <i>John 20:17</i>	<i>By the Tomb of the Prophet</i> <i>Christ Appearing to Mary</i> <i>Christ and Mary</i> <i>Flight into Egypt</i> <i>Jonah</i> <i>Resurrection</i> (also referred to as <i>Noli</i> <i>Me Tangere</i>) <i>The Way of the Cross</i> <i>The Story of the Cross</i>
LEGENDARY		<i>The Lorelei</i> <i>The Flying Dutchman</i> <i>Joan of Arc</i> <i>Pegasus (Arriving)</i> <i>Pegasus (Departing)</i> <i>Diana</i> <i>Diana's Hunt</i>



FIG. 1. — KERSTIAEN DE KEUNINCK. — Landscape with the Sacrifice of Abraham. — Museum of Fine Arts, Basel, Switzerland.

A LANDSCAPE BY KERSTIAEN DE KEUNINCK AT THE MUSEUM OF BASEL

IN an article devoted to the *Fire of Troy*, a painting belonging to the Fourché Museum at Orleans, France, Mr. Charles Sterling recognized in it a work by Kerstiaen de Keuninck. He called attention also to several other paintings by the same

artist to be added to the catalogue of that curious painter. Among these he mentioned one which appeared at the sale of the Hammingen Collection of Ratisbon with a wrong attribution to Paul Bril (sold at Helbing in Munich in 1895, No.

30 of the catalogue).¹ This *Landscape with the Sacrifice of Abraham*, trace of which had been lost, is now on exhibit at the Museum of Basel, where it entered with the Bachofen-Burckhardt Collection. It was considered in that collection as being the work of an anonymous Dutch painter of the beginning of the XVI Century (Inv. No. 1262).² Beyond any doubt this painting must be the work of Kerstiaen de Keuninck from Courtrai, an artist of the XVI Century, for a long time forgotten, whose renown has been revived by recent studies.³

This landscape full of movement and composed of most disparate elements, is dominated by a powerful effect of light: large oblique rays fall across the entire composition, throwing a vivid gleam on the right part of the painting while, at the left, in the foreground, a small round temple and the silhouette of a large tree with dark foliage are vigorously set against a pale sky.

Abrupt rocks and wild ravines, trees broken or torn off by tempests, odd ruins, a river flowing into the far off airy distance, a cloudy sky, tiny silhouettes of figures and animals, birds flying away with outspread wings—such is indeed the usual repertory of our artist. As to the group of three biblical figures which introduces a note of vivid color into that ensemble, it is probably the work of a collaborator.

With its large zones of brown, gray-green and blue sustained in the distance, the painting does not deviate from the conventional color gamut, but

the novelty is marked in the display of contrasts and of opposites of values, by turns delicately nuanced or vigorously expressed. The quick execution made of large fluid touches and of small impaste retouchings, in some places reveals the underlying ochre preparation. The details, some of which have been taken up in light retouchings, correspond to Mr. Charles Sterling's description of other works by the same artist: "the foliage is represented by means of a particularly small touch, fat and foamy."

"Franc-maître" at Antwerp in 1580, Kerstiaen de Keuninck, who specialized from his very beginnings in scenes of fires, shipwrecks and catastrophes, here shows himself less tormented. A larger vision permits him to enclose into a rather reduced frame (0.425 x 0.60m.) a grandiose landscape. One can see in this painting a work of his maturity to be dated about 1610 by comparison with the *Devil Planting Grain* in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin.⁴

Several tendencies appear in the flourishing school of landscapists which followed the great Peter Breughel: the brothers Matthew and Paul Bril represent the classical landscape; Tobie Verhaeght enjoys a great reputation for having been one of the masters of Rubens; Kerstiaen de Keuninck, endowed with imaginative verve and a capricious ardor, remains, in spite of his effaced role, one of the most fascinating figures of this so varied group.

SUZANNE SULZBERGER.

1. CH. STERLING, *Un Tableau Retrouvé de Kerstiaen de Keuninck*, in: "Bulletin des Musées de France," 1932, p. 101.

2. R. F. BURCKHARDT, *Gemäldesammlung J. J. Bachofen Burckhardt*, Basel, 1907, No. 44 (Flemish school; beginning of the XVI Century; unknown artist; wild land-

scape with a biblical subject).

3. A. LAES, *Un Paysagiste Flamand de la fin du 16^e Siècle, Kerstiaen de Keuninck*, Bruxelles-Paris, 1931 (*Mélanges Hulin de Loo*).

4. J. A. RACZYNSKI, *Die flämische Landschaft vor Rubens*, Frankfurt, 1937, p. 60.

R E V I E W O F R E V I E W S

ARCHIVO ESPAÑOL DE ARTE (1940-1946)

"Archivo Español de Arte y Arqueología" discontinued its publication at the end of 1937, one year and a half after the beginning of the Spanish Civil War, when the Loyalist administration was prevented from getting the necessary printing materials. In the Summer of 1940, about one year and a half after the end of the Spanish Civil War, publication was resumed in the form of two periodicals, "Archivo Español de Arte" and "Archivo Español de Arqueología."

It is the purpose of the present writer to review some of the most significant articles which have appeared in "Archivo Español de Arte" during the years 1940-1946. Glancing at the indexes, one is struck by the very small number of articles dealing with non-Spanish art. Lest this be attributed to some recent nationalistic trend among Spanish scholars, one should point out that over a period of time which goes back to the XIX Century, Spanish art-historical scholarship has contributed extremely little to anything but the Spanish field. Indeed, the treasures of Italian and Flemish art sheltered in the Prado Museum, which are so indicative of the universality of Spanish taste of the past, have only rarely succeeded in distracting Spanish scholars from their overwhelming interest in the art of their own country. This would explain the paucity of Spanish publications on art subjects unconnected with Spain. On the other hand, it must be said that from time to time Spanish scholars have made attempts at identifying, or otherwise documenting, works in Spain which are by artists from abroad.

Following this line, SÁNCHEZ CANTÓN (1940-1941, pp. 169-172) contributes an article on a picture by Mathis Gerung dated 1538, which in 1938 was attributed to Lucas Cranach through a gross error.

The same author gives information about works by Quentin Massys which are, or were, in the Iberian Peninsula (1944, pp. 308-315). He attributes to this Flemish artist a religious picture in a Madrid private collection. The subject of the four-figure composition is identi-

fied as *St. Anne, the Virgin and the Child* in SÁNCHEZ CANTÓN's text; however, the caption on the accompanying plate gives what seems to be the real subject of the painting: *The Virgin and the Child Jesus with St. Elizabeth and St. John*.

An article by DIEGO ANGULO (1940-1941, pp. 148-154) throws some light on one of the problems of Titian's art. In 1925 LONGHI attributed to Titian the *Annunciation* in S. Domenico Maggiore, Naples, which, since Dominici's time, had been considered a copy made by Lucca Giordano after Titian's original. According to Dominici, the original was brought to Spain by the Viceroy of Naples, Don Pedro de Aragón. ANGULO does not openly endorse LONGHI's attribution, but, publishes a painting in the church of San Ginés, Madrid, which in his opinion is the copy made by Giordano after Titian's *Annunciation*. ANGULO's reasoning may perhaps be weakened by an error which has slipped into his text. He quotes PALOMINO, PONZ and CEÁN as attributing to Giordano the *Annunciation* in the church of San Ginés; he probably means the *Incarnation* in the same church, as the footnotes accompanying the text help to discover.

DR. ELIAS TORMO studies at length the Rubens tapestry series, *Apotheosis of the Eucharist*, in the Convent of the Descalzas Reales, Madrid (1942, pp. 1-26, 117-131, and 291-315). The twenty extant tapestries are reproduced and studied from the iconographical point of view, which leads the author to suggest a possible original arrangement of the series.

F. NIÑO (1945, pp. 150-161) gives data on two bronze statues signed by Bernini, one dated 1643, and the other 1645. They are in the Royal Palace, Madrid. In 1789 they were listed in a Royal inventory as being by Bernini, and in 1888 they were shown under the same name at the Universal Exhibition held in Barcelona. The catalogue of that exhibition seems to have contained the last references to the subject until the appearance of Miss NIÑO's recent article.

In the field of Spanish art, ANGULO has devoted several articles to painters of the Renaissance. In *Pintores*

Cordobeses del Renacimiento (1944, pp. 226-244) he discusses such artists as Pedro Romana, Antón Becerra and the Master of Fuenteovejuna. Minor as these painters are, the study of their works is not without interest. In fact, such studies may help to clarify the problem of the Renaissance in Spain—a topic about which we still know too little.

Another article deals with *Pedro Berruguete: Dos Obras Probables de Juventud* (1945, pp. 137-149). ANGULO studies the retables in the churches of San Juan (Paredes de Nava) and Santa María del Campo. The author is of the opinion that the first was executed before the artist's trip to Italy. However, there are some Italian traces that ANGULO hesitantly suggests may be due to later corrections. It may be that as our knowledge of the Spanish Renaissance increases, ANGULO's doubts will be upheld and a more convincing explanation found.

JULIO CAVESTANY (*Tres Bodegones Firmados, Inéditos*, 1942, pp. 97-102) publishes three signed and dated *Still Lives*: one by Alexandro de Loarte, another by Juan van der Hamen, and the third by Felipe Ramírez.

SÁNCHEZ CANTÓN's article, *Cómo Vivía Velázquez* (1942, pp. 69-91), discusses the inventory of Velázquez's belongings which was drafted a few days after the artist's death. This document was discovered by the late Spanish erudite DON FRANCISCO RODRÍQUEZ MARÍN who, in 1932, generously handed the information to SÁNCHEZ CANTÓN. Ten years later this important document was made available to other scholars.

As SÁNCHEZ CANTÓN points out, the furniture, household effects, and jewelry listed in the inventory make it clear that Velázquez did not live in poor circumstances. Significant as this is for a biography of Velázquez as well as for a better understanding of the Court of Philip IV, the main interest of the document lies in the forty-four pictures which it mentions. Though only one is listed as by Velázquez, there can be little doubt, as SÁNCHEZ CANTÓN says, that most of them were by the master.

In general, the entries in the inventory are rather brief, which in many cases will make it difficult to arrive at unquestionable identifications of paintings. SÁNCHEZ CANTÓN seems to be right in identifying item N° 593 with *The Toilet of Venus*, in the National Gallery, London, and N° 179 as the *Portrait of Don Luis de Góngora*, in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. A *Portrait of Pope Innocent X* (N° 374) might also be the one in the National Gallery in Washington. As for SÁNCHEZ CANTÓN's timidly advanced suggestion that the picture described as *A Student* (N° 596) might be the *Geographer* at the Museum of Rouen, one cannot do better than to share SÁNCHEZ CANTÓN's caution.

On one point at least, one must disagree with SÁNCHEZ CANTÓN's interpretation of the data provided by the inventory. There, four paintings appear listed consecutively as follows:

- 166.—*Primeramente, una Cabeza del Conde de Siruela, de Pintura* (Firstly, a Head of Count of Siruela, painting).
- 167.—*Otra Cabeza de un Hombre Barbinegro. Por Acavar* (Another Head of a Black-Bearded Man. Unfinished).

- 168.—*Mas Otra Cabeza de Don Tomás de Aguiar* (Plus Another Head of Don Tomás de Aguiar).
- 169.—*Otra Cabeza de una Myjer Haciendo Labor* (Another Head of a Woman Sewing).

SÁNCHEZ CANTÓN's discussion of item N° 169 reads: "Doubtless, the entry means: A portrait of a woman sewing of which only the head is finished. If it is so, a valuable and disconcerting painting is now documented; N° 81 [*The Needle-Woman*] of the National Gallery, Washington. I saw it at Mr. Mellon's home in December 1930. . . . The unsatisfactory light as well as the haste I was in did not allow me to study the painting properly. The impression of what is characteristic in Velázquez's works was disturbed by strokes alien to Velázquez. The inventory now explains that, the picture having been left unfinished, another painter, probably Mazo, worked on it. On the other hand, DR. MAYER's hypothesis that the sitter may be Francisca, the daughter of Velázquez, that is Mazo's wife, is deprived of any foundation. Of course, this is all merely tentative as the subject of the painting is not so unusual that there cannot be other examples of it. In volume III of *Dibujos Españoles*, I published a drawing (Box Collection) attributed to Mazo which represents a woman sewing sitting on a dais."

Undoubtedly, the identification of the sitter suggested by the late DR. MAYER cannot now be accepted, for, as DR. COOK has recently explained in the "Gazette," she "could not be Francisca Velázquez del Mazo, since Mazo was one of the two persons who made the inventory and it would be surprising if he had not mentioned his first wife."¹

Two years later SÁNCHEZ CANTÓN repudiated his tentative opinion. When he reviewed LAFUENTE's *Velázquez* for "Archivo Español de Arte" (1944, pp. 135-136), he termed "unacceptable" the attribution of the *Needlewoman* to Velázquez. But he gave no reason whatsoever for his sharp change of opinion about a picture which he had considered as "documented" and being, for the most part, by Velázquez.²

The suggestion that the picture was finished by another artist cannot easily be accepted by anyone who has seen the *Needlewoman* in the satisfactory light provided for it at the National Gallery. A few minutes of attentive observation suffice, in fact, to realize that the picture is rather sketchy—so much so that the *Preliminary Catalogue of the National Gallery*, cited by SÁNCHEZ CANTÓN, describes it as a "study," and, more recently, DR. COOK has referred to it as "unfinished."³ Moreover, the sketchy character of the painting, though not entirely confined to any particular area, is more accentuated about the hands and in the background—a fact which would dispose of SÁNCHEZ CANTÓN's assumption that Velázquez left the

1. WALTER W. S. COOK, *Spanish Paintings in the National Gallery of Art. I. El Greco to Goya*, in: "Gazette des Beaux-Arts," Aug. 1945, pp. 65-86.

2. More recently however, SÁNCHEZ CANTÓN seems to have recaptured his first impression about the *Needlewoman*, and returned to his consideration of entry N° 169 in the inventory as "lending support to the authenticity, at least of the head, of the picture N° 81 in the National Gallery in Washington, which previously belonged to Mr. Mellon." (*New Facts about Velázquez*, in "Burlington Magazine," Dec. 1945, pp. 289-293).

3. *Op. cit.*

head unfinished, and, after the artist's death, another painter completed the work.

Of course, we cannot be as sure as SÁNCHEZ CANTÓN seems to be that the entry in the inventory necessarily refers to the *Needlewoman*, now in the National Gallery. But we are justified in concluding that Velázquez painted at least one painting of such a subject.

As for the attribution itself, the light yet firm modeling of the *Needlewoman*, her fluid outline, the airy transparency pervading the whole canvas, are characteristics of Velázquez's art in the 1640's. A comparison between the head of the *Needlewoman* and that of the *Coronation of the Virgin*, painted in 1640-1641 (Prado Museum, N° 1168) may be convincing in this regard. Although the head of the Virgin is uplifted, while that of the *Needlewoman* leans forward, the well-curved, half-closed eyelids of the two are modeled by means of a very similar interplay of light and dark; in the two, the light spreads from the forehead to the chin, lessening the shadows about the closed lips and dimples, and dissolving the volume of the wide nose. In both, a whitish stroke creates a luminous elongation of the neck.

Most of the pictures listed in the inventory cannot convincingly be related to any of Velázquez's extant works, though further studies may lead to tentative or even conclusive identifications. For the time being, the question mark should not be removed from SÁNCHEZ CANTÓN's suggestions that *A Christ on the Cross* (N° 582) might be the one recently acquired by the Prado Museum, or that a painting with a *Boy* (N° 355) might be the *Vintager*, purchased by the Oscar B. Cintas Collection in 1945.

The inventory tells us the names of the sitters for three lost or unidentified, head portraits painted by Velázquez. So little is known about any one of them that it may not be superfluous to add something, however little it may be, to the scant data collected by SÁNCHEZ CANTÓN in his article. Thus, it may be worth recalling that Count of Siruela was included by Lázaro Díaz del Valle among the noblemen who practiced the art of painting, as a perusal of SÁNCHEZ CANTÓN's own *Fuentes Literarias para la Historia del Arte Español* has led this reviewer to notice.

Doubtless, DR. SÁNCHEZ CANTÓN has rendered a service to art historians by making available to them the discovery of the late DON FRANCISCO RODRÍQUEZ MARÍN.

ANGULO's essay on *San Antonio Abad y San Pablo Ermitaño de Velázquez* (1946, pp. 18-34) is of a different scope. The author discusses the transformations undergone in Velázquez's creations by what may have been reminiscences of other artists' works. The painting by Velázquez, *St. Antony the Abbot visiting St. Paul the Hermit* (Prado Museum), is compared with two engravings (one of them of the same subject) by Dürer, a painting of *St. Jerome Penitent*, by Patinir, and Pintoricchio's mural, *St. Antony and St. Paul*, in the Vatican.

As an appendix to this study, ANGULO sketches a few more comparisons between other Velázquez' pictures and works by such artists as El Greco, Veronese, Michelangelo and Ribera. MEIER-GRAEFE's far-fetched suggestion that the group of Spaniards in the *Surrender of*

Breda is to be linked with El Greco's *Disrobing of Christ* is fully accepted by ANGULO.

One wishes that the author had probed more into such comparisons. Nevertheless, sketchy as they are, they bring forth some adumbration of what might have been part of Velázquez's background. For one must agree with ANGULO in thinking that Velázquez's recollections of others' works never led him to any kind of imitation. In fact, they seem to betray, if anything, the wide range of his art experience which was always subservient to the artist's creation.

It is to be hoped that DR. ANGULO, in furthering his studies on the subject, as he seems to intend to do, will attempt to explain the unique significance of Velázquez's works as they are related to, yet towering over, the artist's rich background.

ANGULO (*Francisco Zurbarán: Mártires Mercedarios; S. Carlos Borromeo*, 1940-1941, pp. 365-376) discusses ten small pictures representing martyred saints and monks of the Order of Our Lady of Mercy, which originally were in the lower cloister of the Convent of the Merced Descalza, Seville. The series comprised 38 canvases in 1810 when Joseph Napoleon had them shipped to France. Sixteen of them were exhibited in the *Galerie Espagnole* of King Louis Philippe in 1838. In recent times, the whereabouts of only four were known. ANGULO has not only been able to increase that number to ten (which are distributed among seven collections), but he has also succeeded in identifying four of the martyrs, though not too conclusively, for, as the author says, "in an order which shed so much blood among the infidels, there were many martyrs who died in the same way."

ANGULO thinks that Zurbarán conceived and designed these small paintings, but that he entrusted much of the execution to his assistants. The reproductions illustrating the article are too inky to permit any checking of this opinion. However, ANGULO's view seems well-founded, at least insofar as it refers to the picture now tentatively identified as the *Martyrdom of Fray Guillermo de Sagano*, which was listed under N° 14 in the Catalogue of the Exhibition *From Greco to Goya* held in London, at the Tomas Harris Gallery, in 1938.

In another article (*Cinco Nuevos Cuadros de Zurbarán*, 1944, pp. 1-9) ANGULO publishes five Zurbarán religious pictures. Only one of them, the *Virgin with the Child and St. John* in the Museum of Bilbao, is signed; it also bears the date 1662. Unfortunately, its state of preservation is bad. Of the four others, all of them in Spanish private collections, the most interesting is the *St. John the Evangelist on Patmos* recently added to the Juan Prats Collection, Barcelona. ANGULO, who dates it about 1620, recognizes that it would be easier to connect this picture with Velázquez's early works rather than with known paintings by Zurbarán. Nevertheless his comparison of the Prats' *St. John the Evangelist* with Velázquez's picture of the same subject at the Frere Collection, London, establishes some significant differences between the two, and lends support to the attribution of the first to Zurbarán.

The MARQUIS OF LOZOYA (*Zurbarán en el Perú*, 1943, pp. 1-6) reproduces nine paintings from a series of fifteen representing *Christ*, the *Virgin*, and the *Apostles*.

The pictures, kept in the sacristy of the Convent of San Francisco, Lima, were formerly attributed to the school of Francisco Ribalta. The MARQUIS OF LOZOYA's attribution to Zurbarán is certainly more in harmony with their general character.

The MARQUIS OF LOZOYA is convinced that the fifteen paintings came from Zurbarán's studio, though not all of them can be attributed to the master's hand. It seems that any thorough study of the series is made rather difficult by the poor condition of several of the paintings. Consequently, it is no wonder that the MARQUIS OF LOZOYA can advance as possible dates for the series years which are as far apart as 1620 and 1643.

However, REYNALDO DOS SANTOS (*El "Apostolado" de Zurbarán en Lisboa*, 1945, pp. 189-192) thinks that the Lima *Apostolado* must be mainly the work of Zurbarán's assistants. His brief article deals chiefly with the twelve *Apostles*, one of them dated 1633, in the Museum of Lisbon. Unfortunately, DOS SANTOS' discussion of this important group of pictures by Zurbarán is too sketchy.

PAUL GUINARD (*Los Conjuntos Dispersos ó Desparecidos de Zurbarán: Anotaciones a Ceán*, 1946, pp. 249-273) merely aims at submitting hypotheses, suggestions or rectifications concerning Zurbarán's lost or dispersed series. He is thoroughly acquainted with the bibliography and published documentary evidence pertaining to the subject of his study. If MR. GUINARD wisely realizes that new discoveries of documents may make it necessary for him to correct his hypotheses of today, he nevertheless rightly considers it his duty to rectify contentions which are disproved by documentary evidence. The present reviewer, in limiting himself to presenting an instance of the author's clear way of handling documents, has chosen MR. GUINARD's discussion of the date of the pictures for the *retablo* of St. Peter in the Seville Cathedral. This is not only the most forceful of GUINARD's arguments, but it contradicts opinions which were expressed in the "Gazette" not without some explicit apprehensions on the part of its editors. It would seem fitting that the readers of this periodical be given the objections to part of an article which was published as "scholarly controversial material."⁴

CEÁN says that the Marquis of Malagón commissioned Zurbarán to paint the large canvases for the *retablo* of St. Peter in the Cathedral of Seville, and that the painter finished them in 1625. This date had not been questioned until DR. TORMO expressed a thought that it might be too early.⁵ TORMO's cautious opinion was vehemently adopted by MR. SORIA who stated: "Nothing in the St. Peter *retablo* . . . justifies a date of 1625." For one thing, MR. SORIA argued, "this *retablo* has always been dated 1625, because CEÁN reported that the Marquis of Malagón ordered it in that year; it is not, however, either dated or documented." MR. GUINARD patiently demolishes such a sharp and ill-founded affirmation by pointing out that it is beyond question that the *retablo* was built in 1625. In-

deed, uncontrovertible documentary evidence to that effect has been available to scholars since 1927—the date of the first volume of *Documentos para la Historia del Arte en Andalucía* published by the University of Seville.

GUINARD is conscious of how risky it is to try to read too much into any document. Thus, he admits that the completion of the architectural part of the *retablo* does not necessarily imply that the pictures were already being painted, or even ordered. Nevertheless, since CEÁN's information as to the date of the *retablo* has been substantiated, GUINARD feels rather inclined to believe the rest of his data. For very likely "CEÁN may have consulted documents which, afterward, were lost or mislaid."

As for MR. SORIA's conclusion that "it seems certain that the altar was painted about 1636 to 1638" since the "Riberesque realism" which, like KEHRER, he sees in the pictures, could only be explained "by Zurbarán's diligent study of the paintings by Ribera" in the Royal Palaces in Madrid some time between 1634 and 1635, GUINARD opposes it with some convincing objections. His reasoning may be summed up as follows: Insofar as there is no painting signed and dated by Zurbarán between 1616 and 1629 it is impossible to assume with any degree of certainty what the characteristics of his art were in 1625. On the other hand, Zurbarán did not need to go to Madrid in order to know works by Ribera. KEHRER has pointed to Ribera's etching, *St. Peter Repentant*, as one of Zurbarán's sources of inspiration. Moreover, Zurbarán may have seen before 1625 Ribera's paintings for the *Colegiata* of Osuna, which were executed between 1616 and 1620.

MR. GUINARD's scrupulous and skilful handling of the data concerning Zurbarán allows him to argue earnestly his point of view on several other Zurbarán problems such as the date and attribution of the *Apostolado*, in San Esteban, the original grouping of the paintings for the *retablo*, in the church of San Alberto, and the still unsolved question of the exact participation of Zurbarán and Herrera the Elder in the *St. Bonaventura* series. No scholar interested in Zurbarán could dispense with MR. GUINARD's fine piece of erudition.

Another valuable contribution on Zurbarán's art is due to MISS MARÍA LUISA CATURLA (*Zurbarán en el Salón de Reinos*, 1945, pp. 292-300) who has found and published the receipt for the ten pictures, the *Labors of Hercules*, which have been one of the most controversial problems connected with Zurbarán's art. Now it is beyond question that Zurbarán received payment for the ten pictures in Madrid, on November 13, 1634. MISS CATURLA tries to explain away the "strangeness" of these works by "the intervention of some Madrilenian collaborator little acquainted with the personality of the master." It may well be, however, that we are those little acquainted with Zurbarán's personality. For, in spite of the increasing attention given to this artist by writers on art during the last few years, we still lack a study which would probe more deeply into the problem than the trite generalities about the artist's realism, his piety and even the melancholy characteristics of his native land of Extremadura, in which too many authors have indulged.

The document discovered by MISS CATURLA also proves that Zurbarán painted two pictures of the *Defense of*

4. MARTIN S. SORIA, *Francisco de Zurbarán: A Study of his Style*, in: "Gazette des Beaux-Arts," Jan. 1944, pp. 33-48, and March 1944, pp. 153-174.

5. ELÍAS TORMO, *Un Resumen de Zurbarán*, in "Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Excursiones," 1941, pp. 1-10. DR. TORMO wrote his article in Rome, in 1937, at a time when, as he stated, he had no means of verifying the date of the *retablo*.

Cádiz for the Buen Retiro Palace. One such picture is in the Prado Museum (N°656) catalogued as by Eugenio Caxés. In 1927 LONGHI attributed it to Zurbarán. The Prado Catalogue has continued listing it under Caxés' name, though not without taking notice of LONGHI's attribution.

SÁNCHEZ CANTÓN's good luck and labors have enabled him to publish some documents which throw light on the life and art of Goya (*Cómo Vivía Goya*, 1946, pp. 73-109). The most important of these documents is the inventory drawn in connection with the partition of the estate of Goya's wife between her surviving widower and son. The document is dated Madrid, October 28, 1812, though it might perhaps be that what SÁNCHEZ CANTÓN has found is a copy notarized and authenticated two years later, as the date, 1814, stamped on the paper, may possibly indicate.

Goya's household effects, including pictures and jewels, are listed and valued. His library is evaluated at 1500 reales, which, according to SÁNCHEZ CANTÓN, would establish that it consisted of several hundred volumes. This seems to be the most significant item in relation to Goya's spiritual life. Indeed, it would confirm how mistaken are those who still think that the artist was not inclined to seek the company of books. Nevertheless, SÁNCHEZ CANTÓN, though deploring that no titles of books are given has persuaded himself that the books owned by Goya — "an uncultivated mind" (*ingenio lego*) — could not have been as revealing as were those owned by Velázquez.

Goya — the inventory tells us — had in his house paintings by Tiepolo and Correggio, as well as prints by Rembrandt and several other artists. The name of Velázquez is listed, but as SÁNCHEZ CANTÓN points out, it is not clear whether the reference is to a portrait by Velázquez or to a portrait of Velázquez by another painter, or perhaps even to a copy made by Goya after one of Velázquez's originals.

Seventy-three pictures by Goya are mentioned with varying degrees of precision as to their possible identification. SÁNCHEZ CANTÓN has succeeded in identifying over twenty of them, including the six of the Maragato series at the Art Institute of Chicago. Added to the list of Goya's lost works are: four religious paintings, four "war horrors" compositions, and several still lifes, all of them painted by 1812.

The inventory would confirm MAYER's dating of *Women Spinning* as 1808-1812. On the other hand, it would rectify BERUETE's, MAYER's and SÁNCHEZ CANTÓN's previous suggestions as to the date of the *Knife-Grinder* and the *Water-Seller* which, it is now clear, were painted not later than the first half of 1812.

The second part of SÁNCHEZ CANTÓN's article deals with the date of Goya's acquisition of his country house, decorated by the artist with his so-called "black paintings." The Prado Catalogue lists these works as executed after 1808. SÁNCHEZ CANTÓN has now found documents proving that Goya did not buy the house until 1819 and that he could not have painted the "black pictures" before the summer of that year.

Doubtless, the new data provided by SÁNCHEZ CANTÓN, with the confirmations and rectifications of former as-

sumptions that they entail, will greatly facilitate the study of more than one phase of Goya's art.

SÁNCHEZ CANTÓN's conviction of Goya's strong disinclination to matters of general learning undermines his otherwise valuable study of the preparatory drawings, color sketch, and final execution of the large oil, *Spain, Time and History* (*La Elaboración de un Eudadro de Goya*, 1945, pp. 301-307). SÁNCHEZ CANTÓN, agreeing with BERUETE, though without mentioning him, gives the date of the painting as about 1798, which seems more probable than the later one given by other writers.

MARÍA ELENA GÓMEZ-MORENO (*Un Cuaderno de Dibujos Inéditos de Goya*, 1940-1941, pp. 155-163) publishes 13 sheets with as many drawings by Goya. Never mentioned or reproduced before, they are at the National Library, Madrid. As Miss GÓMEZ-MORENO says,⁶ in all probability they belong to the Bordeaux period.

Copies of five of them are among the 70 drawings formerly in the Foulché-Delbosc Collection, which were acquired by the Hispanic Society of America some thirty years ago. The Hispanic Society has since withdrawn Goya's name from this series which MAYER rejected as false.

On the reverse side of five of the sheets found by Miss GÓMEZ-MORENO, there are drawings of a childish character. Three of them are copies of those by Goya. Miss GÓMEZ-MORENO, who unfortunately does not reproduce any of the puerile imitations, believes that they may be the work of Rosarito Weiss, the ten year old girl for whose talent as an artist Goya expressed great hopes while in Bordeaux. Similarities between those child-like copies and the drawings at the Hispanic Society lead Miss GÓMEZ-MORENO to think that all of them may be by the same hand. If Miss GÓMEZ-MORENO is correct in her assumptions, as she may well be, one could attribute a few other drawings to Rosarito Weiss, such as the *Beggar with a Dog*, in the Lázaro Collection, Madrid; several in the Museo Diocesano, Gerona, Spain; and those from the Honorato de Castro Collection which were exhibited under the name of Goya in the Circulo de Bellas Artes, Mexico City, in 1946.

ENRIQUE LAFUENTE discusses very thoroughly a copy of Goya's *Tauromaquia* which passed from the Royal Library to the National Library in Madrid (*Precisiones sobre "La Tauromaquia,"* 1940-1941, pp. 93-109). The author compares this copy, which was already discussed by the late DON MIGUEL VELASCO in 1928, with those belonging to the first edition of the aquatint series. Differences in ink, paper (including the water-marks) and even in the typography of the text, lead him to conclude that the National Library copy gives evidence of an edition previous to the one which so far has been considered as first. On the other hand, LAFUENTE has been able to in-

6. The reproductions in Miss GÓMEZ-MORENO's article are not satisfactory enough to permit any study. I have been unable to secure photographs of these drawings, as the Madrid National Library has recently refused the permission to photograph them, seven years after their publication. This may be just an expression of the unco-operative mood of that public institution. However, since none of these drawings was included in the exhibition of Goya's etchings and drawings from the collection of the Madrid National Library held in June, 1946, it may also be that they are no longer where they were in 1940. (See: ELENA PAÉZ, *Grabados y Dibujos de Goya en la Biblioteca Nacional. Catálogo guía*, Madrid, 1946).

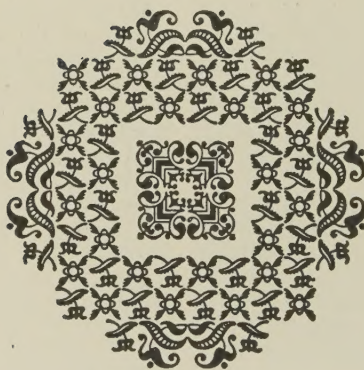
crease to nine the number of signed plates in the *Tauromaquia*.

In a second article, LAFUENTE studies the prints not included in the 1816 edition of this aquatint series (*Las Estampas "Inéditas" de la Tauromaquia*, 1940-1941, pp. 185-193). He makes useful observations about some of them, particularly about *Un Diestro Toreando de Frente por Detrás*, the only known proof of which has recently been acquired by the Madrid National Library.

The length into which this review of articles dealing with the history of painting and graphic arts has developed, makes it impossible to discuss even summarily those dealing with the other arts. However, at least a few of those on Architecture should be mentioned: MANUEL GÓMEZ-MORENO, in *Juan de Herrera y Francisco de Mora en Santa María de la Alhambra* (1940-1941, pp. 5-18),

shows once more his fine connoisseurship and his skilful handling of documents; JOSÉ CAMÓN, in *La Intervención de Rodrigo Gil de Hontañón en el Manuscrito de Simón García* (1940-1941, pp. 300-305), points out the archaistic sources of a Baroque writer on architecture; LEOPOLDO TORRES BALBÁS contributes two interesting articles on Spanish religious buildings, ruined or no longer on Spanish soil (*El Monasterio Bernardo de Sacramenia (Segovia)*, 1944, pp. 197-225, and *La Iglesia del Monasterio de Nuestra Señora de la Sierra (Segovia)*, 1945, pp. 73-83), and ENRIQUE MARCO DORTA gives a biography of Francisco Becerra, the Spanish XVI Century architect who played so important a role in Mexico and Peru (*Arquitectura Colonial: Francisco Becerra*, 1943, pp. 7-15).

JOSÉ LÓPEZ-REY.



NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

COLETTE LAMY-LASSALLE, a student of Henri Focillon, at the Sorbonne and the Paris Institute of Art and Archeology (1926-1936), and of Gabriel Millet and André Grabar, at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes, Paris, graduated from the Ecole du Louvre in 1937. Her articles appeared in the "Cahiers Archéologiques" and "Bulletin des Musées de France"; and her study on *Jean Lenfant et les Graveurs Abbevillois* was honored with the Le Dieu Prize in 1937. Her thesis for the Ecole des Hautes Etudes, *Contribution to the Evolution of the Cult of St. Michael and its Influence on Medieval Art*, is in preparation. After the war she spent several months, as a Red Cross worker, on the Island of Reichenau, which gave her the opportunity to study thoroughly the subject of her article on: *The Paintings of the Nave in St. George's Church of Oberzell, Reichenau* page 5
Her article on *The Paintings of the Western Apse*, in the same church, appeared recently in the "Gazette" (January-February 1947, pp. 15-30).

WALTER FRIEDLAENDER, Professor Emeritus, Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, was formerly with the University of Freiburg (1914-1933). The art of the XVII Century belongs to his special field of study. His first monograph on Poussin appeared in 1914. *The Drawings of Nicolas Poussin (Catalogue Raisonné)* was his next endeavor. He published the first volume in 1938 under the auspices of the Warburg Institute, and in 1947 he received from the University of London a Research Grant to continue his work on the Corpus of Drawings. In 1943 Professor Friedlaender was given a Guggenheim Fellowship to enable him to bring out his book on Caravaggio. Thus presently he is engaged in the preparation of both publications. His *Iconographic Studies of Poussin's Works in American Public Collections* have appeared in the October 1942 and January 1943 issues of the "Gazette," while the current issue contains his article: *The Academician and the Bohemian, Zuccari and Caravaggio* page 27

CHARLES E. PETERSON, a graduate of the University of Minnesota, entered on duty in the Western National Parks in 1929. Landscape Architect of the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial, he served in the same capacity on the Skyline Drive in Virginia and on the general development plan for the Great Smoky Mountains National Park, etc. He was also the architect of a number of historic building restorations, as well as the originator of the Historic American Buildings Survey (1933). In 1936, he came to St. Louis as Staff Landscape Architect of the Riverfront Memorial. In the course of his research, he came across the material included in his article on *Early American Prefabrication* page 37

RICHARD BRADDOCK, who graduated in 1942 from Montclair State Teachers College, was directed by Professor Henry Wells, during his graduate study in American literature at Columbia University, toward the unexplored field of Ryder's poetry. He succeeded in finding thirteen of Ryder's poems, plus a fragment of another—being greatly aided in his search by Lloyd Goodrich, Associate Curator, Whitney Museum. His master's thesis deals with Ryder's painting and poetry; his article on *The Literary World of Albert Pinkham Ryder* page 47
is partly based upon the material of his thesis.

SUZANNE SULZBERGER is Associate Professor at the University of Brussels, Belgium, and Professor at the Belgian Academy of Fine Arts. Her articles, devoted chiefly to problems connected with the study of paintings, have appeared in the Bulletin of the Belgian Historic Institute of Rome and in the "Revue Belge d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art." In this issue she discusses *A Landscape by Kerstiaen de Keuninck at the Museum of Basel* page 57

REVIEW OF REVIEWS in this issue page 59
is by JOSE LOPEZ-REY, Professor, Institute of Fine Arts, New York University.

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